

THE
PHILADELPHIA REGISTER,
AND
NATIONAL RECORDER.

VOL. I.

Saturday, January 2, 1819.

No. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

AT the commencement of their undertaking, the publishers of the **PHILADELPHIA REGISTER** think it proper to comply with the established forms of courtesy by presenting themselves respectfully to their patrons, and stating more fully than their advertisements have yet done, the duties which they consider themselves to have incurred, and the manner in which they propose to discharge them.

Newspapers have been usually considered to belong, by a kind of necessity, to one of the great parties that have so long agitated the nation. Declarations of impartiality were received with distrust, or were supposed to indicate a total want of public spirit, as every one who had formed opinions upon the great questions in debate, was thought to have attached himself to that party most likely to promote them. But the publishers have fallen upon better days, and hope to be believed, when they assert, that their paper will belong to no political sect, nor will be subservient to any

party, but will be perfectly independent and entirely *national*.

The Constitution having been the guide during the rule of both parties, and being sustained by the affections and *habits* of the people, appears likely to endure without any great alteration of principle, as far as the most sagacious prescience can be extended. There is now reason to hope that faction will never again be so deeply rooted, or so widely ramified, and that the political millenium is approaching, when difference of opinion shall not produce rancour of heart, and the dark malignancy of party shall vanish before the full blaze of unrestrained patriotism.

The cessation of the great disputes that originated with the foundation of our government—the subsiding of the ferment occasioned by the late war, and the want of battles and sieges to divert our attention to Europe, have all conspired with the rapid extension of our settlements, to give new life and stronger interest to all questions relating to **INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT**. The effects of the public feeling are

visible in the formation of numerous associations for the promotion of objects that conduce to this end. Old companies that had been languishing, have rekindled their first zeal and are pressing forward with fresh vigour, to carry into effect or to complete the purposes of their foundation. The vast importance of internal commerce is generally understood; our cities are endeavouring, with all the ardour excited by interest and emulation, to facilitate their communication with the country; and there is ground to hope that a prospective policy will now find support in the great body of the people. What a cheering view opens before us, when we contemplate the future thorough inland communication of all parts of the country! The erection of bridges, the improvement of rivers, the construction of canals—seem to be rapidly fulfilling the wishes of the *Father of his Country*, and to be binding indissolubly the bonds of our union.

The community will not confine its exertions for internal improvement merely to the promotion of trade; but with opinions enlightened by extended intercourse, will devote some part of the riches of prosperous industry, to the promotion of science and literature. The wisdom of Congress has allotted a portion of the public lands in each township of the recently formed states, to the support of schools; but for the endowment of institutions for diffusing instruction in the higher branches of learning, we must look to the virtue and patriotism of the *state legislatures*.

The permanent establishment of a

judicious system of public instruction, would, it is believed, do more towards discouraging vice and exciting industry, than any other means in our power. It is confidently hoped that it would render practicable the gradual abolition of the burthen of the poor taxes—would prevent that wretchedness which the most vigilant application of the public money will not remove—and would leave no complaints too loud to be redressed by the more efficient hand of private beneficence.

The same means which remove poverty will probably tend to diminish vice; yet offences against society will always be committed, and that portion of our laws which provides for their punishment will continue to be important. To effect this object, and at the same time to promote the reformation of the offender, the penitentiary system was first tried in this state, and has been copied into several others. But in no case, it is believed, has the experiment been fairly or fully made. A want of proper means of confinement has occasioned criminals to be placed together; thus not only destroying all hope that reformation may be caused by serious reflection upon the consequences of crime, but powerfully tending to destroy those who were but slightly tainted, and to systematize hardened villany. As this evil has attracted much attention, it is hoped that an effectual remedy will ere long be applied.

If a strong wish for the promotion of these great objects, and an industrious attention to whatever may tend to advance them, can be of any utility, it is hoped that this paper will be en-

titled to some share of public favour. It is intended to be principally occupied by the collection and preservation of such interesting facts and useful dissertations as may contribute to this end. Some original matter of the same kind may be occasionally added to the common stock, and it is wished that its distinguishing characteristic, may be a devotion to internal improvement.

It is peculiarly necessary to the prosperous administration of a government founded upon public opinion, that correct notions upon the great branches of political economy, would be widely disseminated. It would be impossible to prove this assertion more forcibly, than by an allusion to the effects that have resulted from false notions on a single point. The great multiplication of banking institutions, has produced an evil, extending over the whole people and pressing upon every man, that has now become too weighty to be neglected, and too distinct not to be fully perceived. The circulation of a depreciated paper currency, by unsettling the value of property and introducing habits of speculation, not only weakens that industry which is steady and productive, but extends its baneful influence over the public morals, and thus creates a disorder which will continue to operate with great effect, long after the cause shall have been removed.

Political economy, like the physical sciences, is founded on correct deductions from *data* furnished by experience. The collection of facts relating to it, has been lately much attended to, and will produce the most exten-

sive and beneficial results. While the science is so imperfectly understood, a liberal discussion of contrary opinions would be interesting; and as there is nothing in the subject itself peculiarly calculated to excite to obstinacy the angry passions, there would be reason to hope that the force of argument would be sufficient to produce conviction. Unlike the barren abuse of the champions of parties, who endeavoured to attain their ends, not by convincing, but by defaming their adversaries, these disquisitions would prove to be "seed cast upon good ground," and their fruit would be to strengthen the foundations of national order and private happiness.

In the United States, where the productions of the press are in every one's hands, the philanthropist has it in his power by a trifling exertion, to extend his influence over the whole nation. The public papers form a mighty engine, which reaches from the greatest to the meanest member of society, and produces effects of the highest importance. The management of this great power, is worthy of the most exalted understandings. Would a few men of leisure and talents devote themselves for a short time to serving the public in this manner, there is no doubt they would produce the most extensive benefits. The newspapers have on one signal occasion, rendered an important service to the nation. While the adoption or rejection of the constitution was the theme that warmed every heart and inspired every tongue, the elegant and elaborate letters of the *Federalist* must have been read with great avidity, and perhaps

contributed not a little to the establishment of a form of government which has made the nation powerful and the people happy. Such great occasions do not often occur, and such abilities can seldom be displayed; but the philanthropist may always find something worthy of his pen, and talents of an inferior order, may be exercised to great advantage on minor matters, for "small things make up the sum of human life."

When we consider the trifling sacrifice of time and labour that is required, we have some reason to be surprised that those who are qualified to give instruction, do not more frequently resort to the newspapers. The advantages they offer, consist not only in the extent of their circulation, but in the power that is given to discuss matters of instant importance, while the public attention is yet directed to them. The great cause of the neglect of these popular vehicles may be, that so large a part of almost every one of them is filled with advertisements. This makes them necessarily so ephemeral, that they are almost always cast aside at the end of the day, and "*patent medicines*," and "*moral dissertations*," perish together. Notwithstanding these inconveniences, short pieces of considerable merit sometimes appear, and the *British Spy* and the *Old Bachelor*, were first made public through advertising journals. As our country becomes more wealthy, it may be expected that greater attention will be paid to literature, and as the newspapers offer the greatest facilities for the publication of the fruits of detached portions of leisure, it is probable that

their character will be improved, and it may perhaps be hoped that this sheet which is free from many of the usual disadvantages, will sometimes be preferred as the medium of addressing the public.

To be able to contribute to the cause of literature in the United States, or to subserve the interests of morality, would give the publishers the highest gratification, and they respectfully request the assistance of all who are able and willing to contribute to the rational pleasures or serious interests of life.

Of *public affairs*, a regular and condensed account will be given, particularly of the proceedings of Congress. Important state papers will be collected, unless when their great length prohibits it. A very brief summary of foreign intelligence will likewise be attempted, so as to make the work a register of passing events.

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The President's Message, and the accompanying documents, are not only interesting in themselves, but will be frequently referred to during the present session of Congress; not only in the discussions of that body, but in private life. They form an important part of the history of the times, and it was therefore desirable to republish them; especially as some of them have not appeared in many of our papers. Reasons nearly similar, have induced us to present a sketch of the past transactions of Congress, and the message of governor Findlay.

This has swelled our first number to 32 pages, and prevented that variety of matter which would have been most likely to please: but we hope that

a single number will not be considered a specimen of any other than the mechanical part of the work. With *this* part we have no doubt our subscribers will be satisfied, as we have every reason to believe that the printing will be neatly and correctly executed, and have made arrangements to procure from the patent paper machine of Messrs. J. & T. Gilpin, Brandywine, a constant supply of paper of this quality.

Communications.

FOR THE PHILADELPHIA REGISTER.

EDUCATION.

No greater revolution has perhaps ever been effected in the opinions of men, than on the subject of education. Through successive centuries only a favoured *few*, compared with the vast population of Europe, enjoyed the advantages of letters and science. The universities of the old world, with the inferior seminaries of learning, so far from being a blessing, were instrumental in degrading the condition of a large majority of the people, who were the dupes of pedants, and the slaves of power. The institutions of learning were not intended for the vulgar, and those only who could purchase information at its highest rates, and when obtained, could employ it most effectually in subjugating the human mind, were found worthy of its privileges. The great mass of the people in the transatlantic nations, were kept in mental darkness, because among untaught "*hewers of wood and drawers of water*" certain favoured professions and orders of men, could, by contrast, shine more splendidly, and grow with more luxuriance. This fatal delusion has at last, in some considerable degree, been dispelled; in more than one empire, those erroneous sentiments and opinions were uprooted by revolution and bloodshed. To select an instance of recent occurrence, and with which every one is familiar, France may be cited. Who can doubt that the convulsions of that king-

dom were rendered more sanguinary and cruel, in consequence of the ignorance of the populace? Who will dispute the fact, that the ambitious and fallen ruler, who at one time directed her moral and political energies, was elevated to his ill deserved control and dignity, by the degraded condition of the multitude? It is admitted, that some benevolent men, from the purest motives, proposed a change in the organization of the government of France; but they were utterly unacquainted with the ignorance of the people, who unhappily made victims of their vengeance, those who had most assiduously endeavoured to meliorate their condition. Italy, and Spain, under the mists of ignorance, have alike been the sport of misrule and intrigue; whilst England and Ireland, by reason of their benighted population, have often narrowly escaped the ordeal of commotion. These evils felt, and miseries escaped, have proved a salutary *warning*; and the grand secret is at length discovered, that *education liberally dispensed*, tames the untoward passions of human nature, fitting the minds of men for the enjoyment of rational freedom, and the introduction of those kind and amiable principles, which Christianity has always inculcated. The question has been critically examined, and solemnly settled, that it is the highest duty of governments to educate the indigent. It is in vain now to raise the voice of opposition. Like every other truth fully demonstrated, the position is irresistible. The crafty may cavil—the invidious sneer—the interested object—the doubtful waver, and the enemies of their species rant and rave, if they please; but it is too late—the verdict of the great, the good, and the wise, has been pronounced—UNIVERSAL EDUCATION IS A UNIVERSAL OBLIGATION!

In our own favoured land, the principle has obtained, and has been acted upon; the experiment is in successful operation in many places. To extend the blessing far and wide, it is our humble purpose to encourage, and we call with no timid utterance upon every benefactor of his kind, every friend of his country, to employ his utmost efforts to effect the grand scheme, which shall be only accomplished, when every citizen of this extensive empire has acquired the rudiments of useful learning.—X.

On the Use of Ardent Spirits.

An evil may not only be more easily, but more effectually, prevented than cured. Whenever, therefore, it is in our power to unveil the causes of crime, we should apply ourselves with the greater force to remove them; being animated by the reflection, that our labours will be followed by more important consequences, than when delayed till they have been matured into action.

If there be one thing, that more than any other exerts a deleterious influence over the population of the United States, it is the use of ardent spirits. We find in ancient times no record of the existence of a scourge, which is more destructive than the plague and the sword—which not only destroys the body, but corrupts the heart, extinguishes the affections, and propagates ignorance and brutality from generation to generation.

The grand juries, who are usually composed of the most respectable men in the vicinity, and whose office consists in the investigation of offences against society, have in several late instances publicly announced it as their opinion, that a vast majority of the cases which had come before them, originated in the abuse of spirituous liquors. This fact, which is confirmed by the experience of almost every one, is now brought officially before us. It is a forcible call to us, as patriots, as Christians, as men, to exert ourselves to lessen human misery, by striking at this great root of evil; and should excite us by the prospect of the great benefits that would follow a successful effort. Many exertions *have been* made, but they have been too isolated to be effectual. The occasion calls for a general combination of all who feel an interest in the public good. This would awaken the attention of the people, and would attract the assistance of many whose convictions are too weak, or whose zeal too cool, to prompt them to appear singly. Such an association extended over the United States, governed by common regulations, and organized in such a manner as to insure a constant correspondence, would not only contribute at once to discourage the use of spirits, but would prepare the public mind for an earnest appeal to Congress, to impose such duties upon them, whether imported or manufactured in this country, as

would amount to a prohibition of their frequent use by the poor. The evil arising from the temptation to smuggling is undoubtedly considerable, and a system of excise seems somewhat opposed to the habits of the people; but all inconveniences become trifling, when compared with the misery which is to be removed.

From 1801 to 1814 the annual importation of spirits,* (exclusive of what was re-exported) was upwards of six millions of gallons. From 1st July, 1791, to 30th Sept. 1792, the quantity of spirits distilled in the United States was 5,171,564 gallons: in 1795 and 1796—3,306,146 gallons: in 1801—1,342,091 gallons: and in 1810—25,096,049 gallons, exclusive of what was exported.

This last amount being added to the importation of foreign spirits during that year, it will appear "that 31,929,142 gallons of spirits remained within the U. States in 1810; which, if consumed in the year, was equal to 4½ gallons for each inhabitant."†

From 1801 to 1814, the average duty on spirits imported was about 34 cents per gallon.

From 1791 to 1797, the average duty on spirits manufactured in the United States, was about 14 cents per gallon.

From 1797 to 1802, for a license to use a still for six months, there was paid 42 cents for each gallon the still would contain. For a smaller time the duty was proportionably greater.

The duties on spirits distilled, and upon stills, ceased in 1802.

From 1st Jan. 1814, to 1st Feb. 1815, for a license to use a still for one year, there was paid a duty of 121 cents for every gallon the still would contain.

From 1st Feb. 1815, to 30th June, 1816, a duty of 20 cents per gallon, on spirits distilled, was ordered to be paid in addition to the above.

From 30th June, 1816, to 31st Dec. 1817, the annual duty on a still was 243 cents for every gallon the still would contain.

From that time the duty ceased.

Such are the principal restrictions that have been laid on their importation or manufacture. The trifling addition to the price that these would create, shows

* Seybert's Statistics, p. 398, et seq.

† Ibid. p. 463.

that the object was rather to increase the revenue, than to discourage the use of the commodity.

Suppose a duty were to be laid of six dollars per gallon, on spirits imported, and that this should lessen the annual importation to 1,000,000 gallons, the duty would be \$6,000,000. And an excise duty on spirits manufactured in the U. States of four dollars per gallon, and the quantity should be diminished to 3,000,000 gallons, the duty would be \$12,000,000.—Amounting in the whole, to the annual sum of \$18,000,000.

It has been said that a canal, which should complete the water navigation along the inside of the coast, from one end of the United States to the other, would cost sixteen millions of dollars—less than the proceeds of such a duty for a single year!

The appropriation of the funds arising from such duties to the improvement of the inland navigation, would do much towards making them popular, and might thus counterbalance the opposition which would doubtless be raised by those parts of the country, which profit by the promotion of this detestable traffic.

J.

Miscellany.

[FROM THE CHARLESTON TIMES.]

Columbia, (S.C.) December 8, 1818.

The debate upon the repeal of the act prohibiting the introduction of slaves, occupied Friday and Saturday. For the repeal it was contended, that the law could not be enforced, as it was obligatory only on the conscientious; while men who disregarded the laws, were speculating on the good faith of the community; that as *Negroes were chattels, and an article of commerce*, Congress alone had the power to regulate the "commerce between the several states;" that the restriction was impolitic, as it excluded those Negroes who might supply the place of the great emigrations from this state. Against the repeal, it was argued, that there was not sufficient evidence that the law could not be enforced; that the repeal would fill the state with the convicts of the adjoining states, and that if the existing law prevented even the introduction of a few, it was salutary; that it was inhuman to encourage the trade of negro speculators, who separated

parent and child, and who were wholly regardless of the social ties, which rendered the emigration of the subjects of their traffic poignant; that the constitution of the United States did not recognize slaves as an article of commerce, but only as persons bound to service, and in the apportionment of representation expressly recognized them as human beings in the term three-fifths of all other persons, &c. The committee of the whole reported favourably on the bill to repeal, and the house, on counting the yeas and nays, divided 73 yeas—39 nays. So the law will be repealed.

State Papers, &c.

MR. RODNEY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Washington, 5th Nov. 1818.

SIR.—I have the honour to present the report herewith enclosed, agreeably to the desire of Mr. Graham, who, on reflection, preferred submitting some additional remarks, in a separate paper. For this purpose, two of the documents referred to in the report remain in his possession—Dr. Fune's outlines of events in the United Provinces, since the revolution, and the manifesto of independence by the congress at Tucuman.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

C. A. RODNEY.

Hon. JOHN Q. ADAMS, Secretary of State.

Mr. Rodney to the Secretary of State.

SIR,

I have now the honour to submit to your consideration my report on the subject of the late mission to South America, embracing the information derived from the various sources within my power, so far as I had an opportunity of improving the advantages possessed.

With the history of the conquest of the Spanish possessions in America, you must be familiar. They were principally, if not exclusively, achieved by private adventurers. When completed, a most oppressive system of government, or rather despotism, was established by the parent country.

These extensive regions were originally swayed by two vice-roys. The dominions of Spain, in North America, were under the government of the vice-roy of Mexico, and all her possessions in South America were subject to the control of the vice-roy of Peru.

The remoteness of some parts of the country from the residence of the vice-roy at Lima occasioned, in 1718, the establishment of another vice-royalty at Santa Fe de Bogota, in the kingdom of New Grenada. In 1731, New Grenada was divided, and a number of the provinces composing that kingdom were

separated from it. These were put under the jurisdiction of a captain general and president, whose seat of government was at Caraccas.

In 1768, Chili was erected into a separate captain generalship; in 1778, a new vice-royalty was established at Buenos Ayres, comprehending all the Spanish possessions to the east of the Western Cordilleras and to the south of the river Maranon.

This immense empire seems, according to the laws of the Indies, to have been considered a distinct kingdom of itself, though united to Spain, and annexed to the crown of Castile. In this light it is viewed by baron Humboldt, in his Essay on New Spain.

With some light shades of difference in the regulations established in these governments, the prominent features of their political institutions exhibit a striking resemblance, as the general system was the same.

Their commerce was confined to the parent country, and to Spanish vessels exclusively. They were prohibited, under the penalty of death, to trade with foreigners. The natives of old Spain composed the body of their merchants. Though this part of the system had, previously to the revolution, been relaxed, in some degree, particularly by the statute of free commerce, as it is styled, the relief was partial, and the restrictions continued severe and oppressive.

All access to the Spanish settlements was closed to foreigners, and even the inhabitants of different provinces were prohibited from intercourse with one another, unless under the strictest regulations.

The various manufactures that might interfere with those of Spain, were not permitted. They were prevented, under severe penalties, from raising flax, hemp, or saffron. In climates most congenial to them, the culture of the grape and the olive was prohibited. On account of the distance of Peru and Chili, and the difficulty of transporting oil and wine to these remote regions, they were permitted to plant vines and olives, but were prohibited the culture of tobacco. At Buenos Ayres, by special indulgence of the vice-roys, they were allowed to cultivate grapes and olives, merely for the use of the table.

They were compelled to procure from the mother country articles of the first necessity: and were thus rendered dependent on her for the conveniences of life, as well as luxuries. The crown possessed the monopoly of tobacco, salt, and gunpowder.

To these oppressive regulations and restrictions was added an odious system of taxation. From the Indians was exacted a tribute in the shape of a poll tax, or a certain servitude in the mines, called the mita. A tenth part of the produce of cultivated lands was taken, under the denomination of tithes. The alcavala, a tax varying from two and a half to five per cent. on every sale and resale of all things moveable and immoveable,

was rigidly exacted, though, in some cases, a commutation was allowed. Royal and municipal duties were laid on imports and on the tonnage, entrance and clearance of vessels, under the different appellations of al-moxarifasgo, sea, alcavalla, cerso, consulado, armada, and armadilla. To these may be added the royal fifths of the precious metals, the most important tax in the mining districts. Besides all these, there were stamp taxes, tavern licenses, and sums paid for the sale of offices, of titles of nobility, papal bulls, the composition and confirmation of lands, with a number of others of an inferior grade.

Under the Spanish monarchs, who had early obtained from the pope the ecclesiastical dominion, and thus had united in their royal persons all civil and religious authority, a most oppressive hierarchy was established, with its numerous train of offices and orders, succeeded by the inquisition.

The posts of honour and profit, from the highest to the lowest, were filled almost exclusively by natives of old Spain.

The principal code of law, thus maintaining the supremacy of Spain over those distant regions, almost locked up from the rest of the world, emanated from the council of the Indies established by the king, in which he was supposed to be always present. The royal rescripts, the recopitations of the Indies, and the partidas, furnished the general rules of decision; and when these were silent or doubtful, recourse was had to the opinions of professional men.

This system was generally executed by the vice roys, captains general, and by the tribunals of justice, with a spirit corresponding with the rigorous policy that produced it. To this form of government, the country had for centuries submitted with implicit obedience, and probably would have continued to submit much longer, but for events in this country and the changes in Europe. The sagacious minds of many able writers, penetrating into the future, had predicted, at some distant date, a revolution in South America, before that in North America had commenced. From the period of the successful termination of our own struggle for independence, that of the inhabitants of the south has been with more confidence foretold; and there is reason to believe it has been hastened by this fortunate event. The conduct of Spain, during the war of our revolution, was calculated to make a lasting impression on her colonies. This result was then foreseen by intelligent politicians; many were surprised that she could be so blind to her own interests, after she had, on one occasion, manifested the strongest suspicion of Paraguay; for to her scrupulous jealousy of this power the expulsion of the Jesuits from that country, in 1750, is to be attributed.

The wars that arose from the French revolution have produced, in Europe, changes of the greatest magnitude, which have had an immense influence on the affairs of South

America. When Spain joined France against the combined princes, she exposed her distant possessions to British hostilities. The great naval power of England gave her ready access to the American colonies. Engaged in an arduous contest, she was prompted by her feelings and interest, to retaliate on Spain the conduct she experienced from her during the war of our independence. Encouraged, perhaps, by the counsels of her enemies, the first symptoms of insurrection in the continental possessions of Spain, were exhibited in the year 1797, in Venezuela. These were succeeded by the attempts of Miranda in the same quarter, which were accompanied, or were followed, since the vacillating state of the Spanish monarchy, by revolutionary movements in Mexico, Grenada, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres; and from which scarcely any part of the Spanish dominions in America has been entirely exempt.

The occurrences that led the way to the subsequent important events in the provinces of La Plata, were the invasion of the British, under Popham and Beresford, in the year 1806, and their expulsion, a few months afterwards, by the collected forces of the country under Leniers and Pueyrredon. These incidents fortunately gave to the people a just idea of their own strength; and they afterwards repelled, with a firmness and bravery that did them great honour, the formidable attack of the British under Gen. Whitlocke.

The wretched state to which Spain was reduced, by the policy, the power, and the arts of Napoleon, the resignation of Charles the 4th in favour of Ferdinand the 7th, and the renunciation of both in favor of Napoleon, were productive of the most important results. They threw the kingdom into the greatest confusion. The alternate successes and disasters of the French armies produced a new era in Spain. The people generally, revolted at the idea of being governed by the brother of Napoleon, to whom he had transferred the crown. Juntas were established, who acted in the name of Ferdinand, then confined in France. These were substituted for the ancient Cortes, and the regular council of the nation, to which, in times of imminent danger, they ought to have recurred agreeably to their usages. Conflicting authorities produced a distracted state of affairs. In the scenes that ensued, the proper attention was not paid to the American provinces. Their conduct towards them was versatile and inconsistent; they were lost sight of or neglected, until it was too late. Conceiving they were abandoned by the parent state, they thought it justifiable to act for themselves. It was not very long before the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, embracing the example of their brethren in Spain, established a junta, which assumed the reigns of government, and finally in the year 1810, sent off the vice roy Cisneros, and his principal adherents. For a summary of events subsequent to this period, until the time of my departure, I beg leave to refer to the outline subjoined, (Appendix A) from the pen

of Dr. Funes, drawn up, in part, at my request. Without vouching for the perfect accuracy of the work, I think, from the information received, it will probably be found to contain, in general, a correct and impartial sketch of the prominent transactions and occurrences.

In perusing this interesting document, I have to lament, that its pages are marked with some cases of severity and cruelty, which seem almost inseparable from great revolutions. It must however be consoling to observe, that they appear to have passed through the state, which might possibly have rendered examples necessary, and to have arrived, perhaps, at that stage, when, the passions becoming less turbulent, and the people more enlightened, a milder system may be expected to prevail.

Their dissensions have produced most of their calamities. In such seasons they were naturally to be expected. But their disputes have been principally healed, by the prudent and energetic measures of the Congress, which commenced its sittings in Tucuman in the year 1815, and adjourned in the year following from thence to Buenos Ayres, where it remained in session, occupied with the task of forming a permanent constitution. This respectable body, besides acting as a convention, or a constituent assembly, exercises temporarily legislative powers. Their sittings are public, with a gallery of audience, for citizens and strangers. The debates are frequently interesting, and are conducted with ability and decorum; they are published every month for the information of the people.

The dispute with Artigas, the chief of the Orientals, has not been adjusted. This, with a certain jealousy of the superior influence of the city of Buenos Ayres on the general affairs of the provinces; the conduct of the government of Buenos Ayres, towards the Portuguese, and the high tariff of duties, which I understand have been since reduced, appeared to constitute the principal causes of dissatisfaction at the time of my departure.

The declaration by Congress of that independence, which they had for many years previously maintained in fact, was a measure of the highest importance, and has been productive of an unanimity and a decision before unknown. This summit of their wishes, was only to be reached by slow and gradual progress. The public mind had to be illumined on the subject by their pulpits, their presses, and their public orations. The people were to be prepared for the event. When the season arrived, they cut the knot which could not be untied. The declaration of independence was adopted in the directorship of Mr. Pueyrredon, on the ninth day of July, 1816. It was succeeded by an able exposition of the causes that extorted it, to justify, to their fellow-citizens and to the world, the measure they had deliberately voted to support with their fortunes and their lives.

Believing the latter paper might be thought worthy of perusal, a translation has been annexed (Appendix B).

The salutary influence of this bold and decisive step, was at once felt throughout the country. It gave new life and strength to the patriotic cause, and stability to the government. The victories of Chacabuco and Maipu, achieved by the arms of Chili and Buenos Ayres, have produced and confirmed a similar declaration of independence by the people of Chili, which is also annexed, (Appendix C) and cemented the cordial union, existing between the confederate states. The consequence has been, that, within these extensive territories, there is scarcely the vestige of a royal army to be found, except on the borders of Peru.

Having thus, in connection with the succinct account given by Dr. Funes, traced the principal events, since the revolution in Buenos Ayres, I shall proceed to state the result of the information received, according to the best opinion I could form of the extent, population, government and resources of the United Provinces, with their productions, imports, and exports, trade and commerce.

The late vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, of which that city was the metropolis, was by many considered the largest, as well as the most valuable of all the Spanish dominions in South America, extending in a direct line, from its north to its south boundary, a distance of more than two thousand miles; and from its eastern to its western, not less than eleven hundred.

It was composed, at the commencement of the revolution, of the nine provinces, or intendencias following: Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, La Plata, Chochabamba, La Paz and Puno.

Watered by the great river La Plata and its numerous tributary streams, which afford an easy communication with countries of an immense extent, and furnishing an easy access to the treasures of South America, it has always been regarded by Spain, as one of her most precious acquisitions. Enjoying every variety of climate to be found between different and distant latitudes, and blessed with a large portion of fertile soil, it is capable of producing all that is to be found in the temperate or torrid zones. Immense herds of cattle and horses graze on its extensive plains, and constitute at this time their principal source of wealth. The mines of Potosi are also included within its boundaries. There are no woods for a very considerable distance from Buenos Ayres. No forest trees are to be seen on the widely extended pampas, except at intervals a solitary umboo. After passing the Saladillo, in a northerly direction, the woods begin, and, proceeding in the upper provinces, the hills appear, and mountains rise in succession, interspersed with vallies. On the east side of the rivers La Plata and Parana, the country is said to be very fine. The Entre Rios, is represented as capable of being made a garden spot; and the Banda Oriental presents hills and dales, rich bottoms, fine streams of water, and at a distance from the great river, on the banks of the smaller streams, some

excellent woodland. Between Maldonada and Monte Video, the east ridge of the Cordilleras terminates on the river La Plata.

Since the revolution, five more provinces have been erected, making in all fourteen within the limits of the ancient vice royalty, viz. Tucuman, taken from Salta; Mendoza or Cuyo, taken from Cordova; Corientes, Entre Rios, comprising the country between the Uruguay, and the Parana, and the Banda Oriental, or eastern shore of the river La Plata. The two last were taken from the province of Buenos Ayres, which was thus reduced to the territory on the south side of that river. The subordinate divisions of the country, with the principal towns, will be found in the appendix to this report, with an account of the produce, or manufactures of the different districts. (Appendix D.)

Of the fourteen provinces into which the ancient vice royalty is now divided, five were, at my departure, principally occupied by the royal forces, (which, in consequence of the victory of Maipu, were expected soon to retreat to Lower Peru,) or partially under their influence, viz. Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno: and the nine following, independent *de facto* of Spain, were in the possession of the Patriots, viz. Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Mendoza, Salta, Corientes, Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental. But Paraguay and the city of Santa Fee act independently of Buenos Ayres, though Paraguay is not on unfriendly terms with them, and it is hoped by some will before long join the union. Entre Rios and the Banda Oriental, under general Artigas, in the character of chief of the Orientals, are in a state of hostility with Buenos Ayres.

Monte Video, the capital of the eastern shore, was occupied by a Portuguese army, and a squadron of ships of war from Brazil blockaded the ports of Colonia and Maldonado, and prohibited the entrance of neutral vessels, unless they paid them the same duties on their cargoes, that they were charged on the importation of the goods when landed in the country.

The territory of the United Provinces is computed to contain one hundred and fifty thousand square leagues, though it probably exceeds that quantity. The lands occupied in the country, remote from the cities, are generally converted by their owners, into estancias, or large grazing farms for cattle, and chacras for growing grain. The small farms, or quintas, in the neighbourhood of cities, are in fine order. Those around Buenos Ayres, which furnish their market with an ample supply of fruit and vegetables, are, by irrigation, in the highest state of culture.

The population, exclusive of the Indians, is now calculated at about one million three hundred thousand; but, adding the civilized Indians only, who are of great importance, it would in all probability exceed two millions.

The whole population consists of natives of old Spain, and their descendants born in the country, or, as they style themselves, South Americans; of Indians civilized, or unreclaim-

ed, with different "casts," or mixed blood; of Africans, and their descendants, or negroes and mulattoes.

I could not ascertain, with satisfaction, the population of the different provinces: the province of Buenos Ayres contains about one hundred and twenty thousand, whilst the population of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental is computed at fifty thousand.

The city of Buenos Ayres contains a population of sixty thousand. The inhabitants of this place appear to be amiable, and an interesting people. They are considered brave and humane; possessing intelligence, capable of great exertions and perseverance, and manifesting a cheerful devotion to the cause of freedom and independence.

There is also a certain mediocrity and equality of fortune prevailing among them, extremely favourable to a union of the popular sentiment in support of the common weal. Many industrious mechanics, and enterprising merchants, are, however, increasing their estates, and adding to the stock of capital in the country.

The people of the province of Buenos Ayres, residing out of the city, are, generally speaking, poor, and rather indolent: though a hardy race, and when excited to action, they become zealous defenders of the liberties of their country. They are capable of great improvement, and, under the influence of a good example, when a change takes place in their habits and manner of living, they bid fair to become useful and industrious citizens.

The inhabitants of Cordova are said to be more superstitious, and more industrious, but less patriotic. This is principally attributed to the loss of the trade with Peru, occasioned by the revolutionary war.

Tucuman, I was informed, possessed an excellent population.

The people of Mendoza, or Cuyo, are moral, industrious and patriotic. They have sacrificed largely at the shrine of independence, supporting with zeal and confidence, the cause of their country; whilst the citizens of Santa Fée are represented, as immoral and insubordinate, and manifesting, on most occasions, an extreme jealousy of their neighbours.

The population of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental is perhaps not inferior in valour to that of Buenos Ayres. Nor is it deficient in military skill, particularly in carrying on a partizan warfare, for which its troops are admirably adapted. Their other good qualities have been probably somewhat impaired by the system pursued in that quarter, where they have been compelled to give up every thing like civil avocations, and to continue without any regular kind of government, under the absolute control of a chief, who, whatever may be his political principles, or professions, in practice concentrates all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, in himself.

The general congress of the United Provinces, assembled at Buenos Ayres, on the 3d of December, of 1817, established by a provi-

sional statute, a temporary form of government, which will be found in Appendix marked E.

This congress is comprised of deputies from the different provinces. It usually consists of twenty-six members; but, as a representative is allowed for every fifteen thousand citizens, it would be numerous, if all the provinces had sent delegates in that ratio of population.

With some exceptions, and particularly of that palladium of our rights, which is unknown to the civil law, the trial by jury, the provisional constitution will be found on an attentive perusal, to contain a distinct recognition of many of the vital principles of free government. A church establishment, also, that of the Catholic faith, is contrary to our ideas of religious freedom; though a measure adopted from necessity, perhaps, by them.

It declares, that all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, resides in the nation. The congress are to be chosen by electors, who are to be voted for by the people in the primary assemblies. The cabildos, or municipalities, are to be elected immediately by the citizens. It recognizes the independence of the judiciary, and declares the tenure of office, with respect to the superior judges, to be during good behaviour. It provides for the election of a chief magistrate by congress, removable when they choose to appoint a successor, and responsible for the execution of the duties of his office, which are defined and limited. In the oath of office, he is sworn to preserve the integrity and independence of the country.

The three great departments of state, of the treasury, and of war, are distinctly marked out, and their respective powers and duties assigned.

On some subjects it enters more into detail than is usual with us, particularly in those of their army, navy, and militia. But this, perhaps, in their situation, was necessary.

It provides; that no citizen shall accept a title of nobility, without forfeiting the character of citizenship.

It provides, also, against general warrants, and the arrest of individuals, unless on probable proof of guilt.

It contains a salutary provision that a judge, having original jurisdiction, before taking cognizance of the cause, shall use all possible means of reconciling the parties. This constitution is but temporary. The congress are engaged in the task of forming a permanent one. In the mean time, no alteration can be made in the present, unless with the consent of two-thirds of the members. In this manner some alterations have been adopted.

The subject of a permanent constitution was before a committee of sixteen members of congress. There was a difference of opinion prevailing among them, on the point of a confederated or a consolidated government. If they should adopt the former, they will frame the constitution, in all probability, nearly after the model of that of the United States.

Should they decide on the latter, it is highly probable they will incorporate the leading features of our system into their form of government. They seem to concur in the proposition to have a chief magistrate elected for a term of years, and a representative legislature, to consist of two branches. A Senate, to constitute the most permanent body, and a House of Representatives, whose term of service shall be of shorter duration.

Perhaps it would be better for them to delay the completion of this all important task, after the example of the United States, until a period of peace. Their present provisional statute is an improvement on those which preceded it; and we may expect their proposed constitution will be still more perfect, as they advance in the knowledge of those principles on which republican governments are constituted.

But, however free in theory this provisional statute may be, it is undoubtedly true, that, unless administered agreeably to its letter and spirit, it will not afford security to the citizen. Whether any infractions have occurred since the date of its existence, I cannot pretend to determine, not being in full possession of the facts.

When we recollect that they have the benefit of our example, it may reasonably be expected that they will, in general, adhere to their written constitution. They have also the fatal result of the French revolution, warning them of the dangers of its excesses, of which they appear to be sensible.

The productions and the manufactures of the different provinces, will be found in Appendix (D); but I was unable to procure any satisfactory estimates of the probable value or amount in each province. There is, however, a considerable internal trade carried on in the interchange of various articles between the several provinces: cattle, horses, and mules, furnish a considerable source of barter; with the latter, Peru is usually supplied: the Paraguay tea is a great article of trade throughout the country. The brandy, wine, raisins, and figs of Mendoza and San Juan, are becoming important: the hides of oxen, the skins of the vaccina and granaco, with a number of fine furs, afford valuable articles of exchange.—These, with the foreign goods transported in every direction from Buenos Ayres, very readily, by oxen and mules, which also furnish the means of carrying their native productions to their sea ports, form a branch of trade of great magnitude, considering the population of the country.

Their exports are calculated, with some degree of accuracy, at ten millions of dollars. These consist, principally, of ox hides, jerk beef, and tallow, the present great staples of the country. A variety of furs and peltries, some grain, copper, mostly brought from Chili, with gold and silver in bullion and in coin, chiefly from the mines of Potosi.

The imports are computed to be about equal to their exports. British manufactures form the principal mass, and they are to be

had in great abundance. They consist of woollen and cotton goods of every description, some of them wrought to imitate the manufactures of the country; ironmongery, cutlery, hardware, saddlery, hats, porter, ale, and cheese, are among the remaining articles.

From the United States they receive lumber of all kinds, and furniture of every description; coaches and carriages of all sorts, codfish, mackarel, shad, and herring, leather, boots, and shoes, powder, and munitions of war, and naval stores, ships, and vessels, particularly those calculated for their navy, or for privateers.

From Brazils they receive sugar, coffee, cotton, and rum.

From the north of Europe they receive steel and iron; and from France a number of articles of its manufacture.

Their foreign commerce is principally carried on by British capitalists, though there are some Americans, a few French and other foreign merchants, also settled at Buenos Ayres: they are all placed, I believe, on the same footing of equality.

The revenue of the state may be estimated at about three million of dollars annually; but their system of finance is very imperfect, and, although their debt is small, their credit is low. They have hitherto avoided the issuing of paper money, and they have established no bank; but they have sometimes anticipated their revenue by giving due bills, receivable in payment for duties on goods imported, or articles exported: the impost furnishes the principal part of the revenue. A copy of their tariff, as at first established, was some time since transmitted, I believe, to the department of state: in this the duties were generally specific and high. I understand they have been lately reduced, as their exorbitancy had occasioned much smuggling.

Voluntary contributions from those friendly to the revolution, and forced loans from the old Spaniards, have constituted another portion of their funds. To show the public capital adequate to all exigencies, their different civil, military, and naval establishments have been taken into view, and are comprised in the estimate furnished, a thing unusual with us; but they have omitted their public lands, which, if a prudent use be made of them, must, at no distant day, become a very productive source of revenue to the state.

The mines of Potosi, which, in all probability, will very soon fall into their hands again, may furnish them with a considerable supply of the precious metals. It is stated, on respectable authority that so late as the year 1790, the amount of gold and silver coined at Potosi, in that year, was calculated to have been \$299,846 in gold, and \$2,983,176 in silver. The state of their army, and the condition of their navy, will be seen by a reference to the original return presented. (App. F.)*

Their army is composed of regular troops,

* The document referred to is not sent.

Ciorcos, and militia. In one or other of these classes, they are educated to the military art, and, far as I had an opportunity, and was capable of judging, they appeared to be well acquainted with the elements of their profession. Their forces, according to the paper furnished, are estimated at nearly thirty thousand men. They are composed of 1,296 artillery, 13,693 infantry, and 14,718 cavalry; of which 12,143 are troops of the line, 7,041 are Ciorcos, and 10,573 militia. These form the different armies of the centre of Peru, of the Andes, of Cordova, and the auxiliary forces in the Entre Rios. This statement, however, only includes the militia of the province of Buenos Ayres itself. Their supply of arms and munitions of war is ample, as will be seen by the statement annexed, on that subject.

Their navy is small, and some of their vessels are laid up in ordinary. A list of them, as well as of their privateers, will be found in appendix F. Their private armed vessels are subjected to very strict regulations, agreeably to their prize code, which is among the original papers presented, and herewith delivered. It may be proper, in this place, to introduce the subject of the irregular conduct of the privateers under the patriot flag, against which the commissioners were directed to remonstrate. Having taken an opportunity of explaining to Mr. Tagle, the secretary of state, the proceedings of our government relative to Amelia island and Galvezton, agreeably to their instructions, the commissioners embraced a suitable occasion to urge the just cause of complaint, which the malpractices of private armed vessels, wearing the patriot colours, had furnished our government; on both topics, they had long and interesting conversations. With the conduct of the government respecting Amelia island and Galvezton, Mr. Tagle expressed himself perfectly satisfied; and he disclaimed for his government, any privity or participation in the lodgments made at those places, by persons acting in the name of the patriots of South America. In reference to the acts of cruisers under the patriot flags, he said, he was sensible that great irregularities had occurred, though his government had done every thing in their power to prevent them, and were willing, if any instance of aggression were pointed out, to direct an inquiry into the case, and, if the facts were established, to punish those concerned, and redress the injured individuals. He professed his readiness to adopt any measures that would more effectually prevent a recurrence of such acts, in which he expressed his belief, that the privateers of Buenos Ayres had rarely participated, though the character of the government had suffered from the conduct of others. He stated, that they had, on one occasion, sent out some of their public vessels to examine all cruisers wearing the Buenos Ayrean flag, to see that they were lawfully commissioned, and to ascertain whether they had violated their instructions.

Amongst the causes of dissatisfaction, to which I have alluded, the preponderance of the capital has been mentioned. Its great weight in the scale of national affairs is to be ascribed to its greater exertions in the national cause. These are owing to its comparative wealth, and to its active, intelligent, and enterprising population. The armies that have been raised in this city and the neighbouring country, with the supplies in money and munitions of war drawn from these sources, have been truly extraordinary.

It would be a difficult task to make an exact calculation, or to form even a probable estimate, but all seemed to concede the superior merit claimed on account of their exertion, when compared with their wealth and population; and it is not unlikely that Buenos Ayres has, in consequence, assumed a higher tone, and acquired a controlling influence, which she has sometimes abused.

Another source of discontent, is the unfortunate dispute between the Banda Oriental and Buenos Ayres, which had also an influence on the proceedings of the latter towards the Portuguese.

The original cause of division may be traced to a jealousy, long subsisting between the rival cities of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. This has become habitual, and has extended to the country. Private interests and personal views have also increased their dissensions.

General Artigas (who bears the character of chief of the Orientals, as has been already stated, and has also assumed that of the protector of the Entre Rios and Santa Fee), was originally, in the royal service, a captain in a provincial corps. In this he continued for some time after the revolution had commenced at Buenos Ayres. But, in the year 1811, taking offence, as it is said, at some conduct of the Spanish commandant of Colonia, he abandoned the royal cause, and entered into the service of the patriots. So early as the year 1813, when acting against Monte Video, he became dissatisfied with Sarratea, the commander in chief from Buenos Ayres. On his removal from the head of the army, he quarrelled with general Rondeau, who, it was supposed, would have been acceptable to him, and finally withdrew, before the siege of Monte Video was finished under general Alvear. For this conduct, Posados, when he succeeded to the government, treated him as a deserter from their service. By a proclamation, he offered a reward for his apprehension, and set a price upon his head: an act which Gen. Artigas never forgot or forgave.

During the subsequent directorship of Alvear, he induced the Calbildo of Buenos Ayres to issue a similar proclamation against general Artigas. When Alvear was dismissed, the people of Buenos Ayres endeavoured to atone for their conduct, by burning, with every mark of ignominy, the degrading proclamation. They also addressed a conciliatory letter to the general, and received from

him a corresponding answer. These were preliminary to a fruitless attempt at reconciliation, made by the director ad interim, colonel Alvares, who succeeded Alvear. The correspondence on this occasion is annexed. (Appendix H). Other endeavours to reconcile him have failed, notwithstanding the changes in the office of director at Buenos Ayres. On one occasion, the proposition was made, that the Banda Oriental should remain independent of Buenos Ayres, and merely send deputies to the general congress, to concert measures against the common enemy. On another, when the Portuguese army was approaching the frontiers of the Banda Oriental, an effort was made by Pueyrredon to reconcile him, and to unite him in the common defence. Ample supplies of arms, and munitions of war, were offered, and some furnished; but this attempt also failed.

In order that a fuller view of this subject may be had, I have subjoined a translated copy of an animated letter from general Artigas to Mr. Pueyrredon. (Appendix I.) It is but justice to add, that general Artigas is thought, by persons entitled to credit, to be a firm friend to the independence of the country. To express a decided opinion on this delicate question would scarcely be expected of me, as my position did not command a view of the whole ground. I had not the satisfaction to be derived from a personal interview with general Artigas, who is, unquestionably, a man of rare and singular talents. But if I were to hazard a conjecture, I think it not improbable, that in this, as in most family disputes, there have been faults on both sides. It is to be lamented that they are in open hostility. The war has been prosecuted with great animosity; and, in two late engagements the troops of Buenos Ayres have been defeated with great loss. By some it was said that the inhabitants of the eastern shore were anxious that a reconciliation should take place, whilst the people in the country preferred their present state.

I must not omit to take a glance at the situation of Paraguay. This province presents a singular spectacle. It stands aloof from the rest. The people, with the aid of the few remaining royal troops, repulsed an army, sent to compel them to join the common standard. Very soon afterwards they expelled the royalists, and set up for themselves. Since this period, they appear to have adopted a partial non-intercourse system. But Buenos Ayres, on one occasion, succeeded in obtaining an understanding with them. Some suspect that they are secretly inimical to the existing order of things, and wish to keep themselves within their shell, that, in case of a change, they may profit by future events; others calculate with some confidence, on their ultimate union with Buenos Ayres, with which, at present, they indulge a limited, and reluctant intercourse. Paraguay is under the immediate control of a person named Francia, who styles himself director of Paraguay.

From the domestic concerns of the provin-

ces, we naturally turn to their foreign relations. On this subject the commissioners were informed that they had nothing more than a friendly understanding with any foreign nation. With the Portuguese government they concluded an arrangement in 1812, under the mediation, it is said, of the British, with respect to the Banda Oriental. They have since had a correspondence with them on the subject of their entrance into that province, and the forcible occupation by a Portuguese army of the city of Monte Video, of which a copy is annexed. (Appendix I.) This will present the state of affairs between Buenos Ayres and the Brazils, which has been the theme of much discussion. The superior naval force of the Portuguese, stationed in the river La Plata, could have effectually blockaded all the ports of Buenos Ayres. By this means they would have prevented supplies of arms and munitions of war, and entirely destroyed the great source of revenue to the state, the duties on imports and tonnage, at a season when money was much wanted. For about this period Buenos Ayres had a powerful army to contend with on the side of Peru, and had taken the burthen of the renewed contest of Chili with Spain. Under such circumstances, they were in some measure, obliged to adopt a cautious and moderate policy. Their conduct in this respect seems to have been coerced. Their unhappy state with the Orientals had also an influence on their measures; they alleged that the restless conduct of Artigas had furnished the Portuguese a pretext for the invasion; but, it is probable that they will ultimately break with the government of Brazils.

The British government has, through their official agents, entered into commercial stipulations with general Artigas, as the chief of the Orientals, on the subject of their trade with the eastern shore. A copy of this instrument will be found in Appendix K.

The government of Buenos Ayres have a confidential person in Europe, soliciting from England, and other powers, it is said, assistance of every kind, and a recognition of their independence. England has a consul, who, with her naval commander on that station, appeared to conduct the confidential affairs of the British cabinet with the government of Buenos Ayres.

What effects the victory of Maipu will produce abroad, it would be hazardous in me to conjecture. Whether, like the capture of Burgoyne, it will procure for the United Provinces foreign alliances, I cannot pretend to say.

From a source which is entitled to credit, I was informed that the raising and embarkation of Osorio's army in Peru was not accomplished without serious difficulties. Alternate force and persuasion were used to collect them, and nothing but the name, character, and promises of their general, could have induced them to go on board of the vessels prepared for the purpose, at the port of Callao. Some of them were actually in a state of mu-

tiny, notwithstanding they were told they would be received with open arms by their brethren in Chili.

The forces finally embarked, agreeably to an account furnished by a gentleman of undoubted veracity on the spot, consisted of the following troops:

1 company of artillery	70
1 do. sappers and miners	81
Regiment of Brigos	900
Do of San Carlos infantry	907
Do of Arequipa	1000
Arequipa dragoons	260
Lamas	144
	—
	3262

This army was composed of all the regular soldiers they could spare from Lima, who were united, at Talcaguna, to the royal forces left in Chili. By the battle of Maipu it has ceased to exist. The probable effects in Peru, and other parts of South America, may be conjectured, but cannot be affirmed. The same gentleman who has been mentioned, and who is conversant in Peruvian affairs, apprehended that important changes would result.

I cannot conclude this paper, without drawing your attention to a rapid survey of the reforms and improvements in the province of Buenos Ayres, produced by the revolution, and its influence on knowledge, society and manners.

The effects of the revolution are visible in the changes produced in the state of society. The difference in the freedom of acting and thinking, which preceded the revolution, must necessarily be great. The freedom of commerce must have given a spring to exertions of native enterprise and intelligence, while the active scenes of war and politics, for the last ten years, have awakened the genius of the country, which had so long slumbered. The generation now on the stage may almost be said to have been reared under a new order of things. The common stock of ideas among the people has been greatly augmented; the natural consequence of the important political events which daily transpire, and in which every man, like the citizen of Athens, feels an interest. The newspapers are every where circulated, together with the manifestos of the government, which is obliged to court the approbation of public opinion on all measures of moment. It is not very unusual for the same countryman, who, a few years ago, never troubled himself about any thing beyond the narrow circle of his domestic concerns, to purchase a newspaper on coming to town as a matter of course, and, if unable to read, to request the first one he meets to do him that favour. The country curates are, moreover, enjoined to read the newspapers and manifestos regularly to their flocks. The spirit of improvement may be seen in every thing. Even some of those who are under the influence of strong prejudices against the revo-

lution, frequently remark the changes for better which have taken place. Their habits, manners, dress, and mode of living, have been improved by intercourse with strangers, and the free introduction of foreign customs, particularly English, American and French. Great prejudices prevail against whatever is Spanish. It is even offensive to them to be called by this name; they prefer to be identified with the aborigines of the country. The appellation which they have assumed, and in which they take a pride, is that of South Americans.

A powerful stimulus must necessarily have been given to their industry, by two important circumstances, the diminution in prices of foreign merchandise, and the great increase in value of the products of the country, with the consequent rise of property. Though the grounds in the neighbourhood of cities are highly improved, as I have already stated, agriculture, comparatively speaking, is in a low condition. In general, the lands are badly tilled. The plough is rarely used, and the substitute is a very indifferent one. But notwithstanding the disadvantages of the present method of culture, I was informed by reputable persons that the average crop of wheat is not less than 50 bushels per acre in good seasons.

On the subject of religion, especially, the change in the public mind has been very great. The Catholic faith is established as that of the state, but there are many advocates, both in conversation and in writing, of universal toleration. Some members of congress are strongly in favour of it, but the ignorant and superstitious part of the people, together with the regular clergy, would not be satisfied with such a measure—while the liberality prevailing among the better informed classes is such as to secure a virtual toleration for the present. Besides, from the circumstance of there being no sects in the country, such a provision may wait the progress of liberality in public opinion. In fact, the human mind has been set free, on all matters of a general abstract nature, although the liberty of the press is circumscribed in some degree with respect to strictures on public measures and men, and the established religion; but there is neither inquisition nor previous license. They acknowledge the pope as a spiritual head merely, and do not think him entitled to any authority to interfere in their temporal concerns. His bull in favour of the king of Spain against the colonists, which may be almost regarded as an excommunication, produced little or no sensation.

The number of monks and nuns never was very great in Buenos Ayres, when compared with other portions of the Spanish dominions. They have diminished since the revolution. There was at one time a positive law passed, forbidding any one to become a monk or a nun; but they were obliged to repeal it, and it was afterwards passed with

some modifications. The restrictions substituted, aided by public opinion, have nearly produced the desired effect. Few of the youth of the country apply themselves to the study of theology, since other occupations, much more tempting to their ambition, have been open to their choice. Formerly, the priesthood was the chief aim of young men of the best families, who were desirous of distinction; as, in fact, it constituted almost the only profession, to which those who had received a liberal education could devote themselves: which will readily account for the circumstance of so many of the secular clergy directing their attention, at present, almost exclusively to politics. The regular clergy, who are not permitted, by the nature of their profession, to take part in the business of the world, or to hold secular offices, are many of them Europeans; but those of them who are natives, take the same lively interest in passing events, with the other classes of the community.

They have gone cautiously to work in reforms in the different branches of their municipal laws, and the administration of them. The number of offices has been considerably diminished, and responsibility rendered more direct and severe. The judiciary system has undergone many improvements, and nearly all the leading features of the law, which did not harmonize with the principles of free government, have been expunged, though some of the former evils still remain. The barbarous impositions on the aborigines have been abolished. The odious alcavala, and other obnoxious taxes, modified, so as to be no longer vexatious—slavery and the slave trade, forbidden in future—and all titles of nobility prohibited, under the pain of the loss of citizenship. The law of primogeniture is also expunged from their system. In the provisional statute, as has already been stated, nearly all the principles of free representative government are recognized, accompanied, it is true, with certain drawbacks, for which they plead the necessity of the times, but which they profess their intention to do away, on the final settlement of the government—a consummation anxiously desired by all classes of inhabitants. The example of France has warned them not to attempt too much at first: they have followed the plan of the United States in the introduction of gradual reforms, instead of resorting to violent and sudden innovations and revolutions.

Next to the establishment of their independence by arms, the education of their youth appears to be the subject of the most anxious interest. They complain, that every possible impediment was thrown in the way of education previous to the revolution: that, so far from fostering public institutions for this purpose, several schools were actually prohibited in the capital, and the young men were not, without restraint, permitted to go abroad for their education. There was a college at Cordova, at which those destined for the bar, or

the priesthood, completed their studies, upon the ancient monkish principles. Another, called San Carlos, (now the Union of the South), had been opened at Buenos Ayres, but was afterwards converted into barracks for soldiers. It is an immense building, more extensive, perhaps, than any which has been dedicated to learning in this country; and it has lately been fitted up at a very great expense. The school was to have opened in May or June last, on a more modern and liberal plan of discipline and instruction. The library of the state is kept in an adjoining building; it occupies a suit of six rooms, and contains nearly 20,000 volumes—the greater part rare and valuable. It is formed out of the library of the Jesuits, the books collected in the different monasteries, donations from individuals, and an annual appropriation by the government; and contains works on all subjects and in all the languages of the polished nations of Europe. A very valuable addition has been lately made of several thousand volumes, brought to Buenos Ayres by M. Bonpland, a companion of the celebrated Humboldt.

Besides the University of Cordova, at which there are about one hundred and fifty students, there are public schools in all the principal towns, supported by their respective corporations. In Buenos Ayres, besides an academy, in which are taught the higher branches, and the college before mentioned, there are eight public schools, for whose support the corporation contributes about seven thousand dollars annually; and, according to the returns of last year, the number of scholars amounted to eight hundred and sixty-four. There are five other schools, exclusively for the benefit of the poor, and under the charge of the different monasteries; these are supplied with books and stationary at the public expense. There are also parish schools in the country, for the support of which a portion of the tithes has been lately set apart. It is rare to meet with a boy, ten or twelve years of age, in the city of Buenos Ayres, who cannot read and write. Besides the scholars thus instructed, many have private tutors. In addition to all this, I must not omit to mention, the military academies supported by government, at Buenos Ayres and Tucuman, at which there are a considerable number of cadets.

Rather than disturb the order of society, they will endure with patience, until the time arrives for effecting a regular and constitutional change. Since the election of the present director, none of these tumults, before so frequent, have occurred. These tumults have seldom been attended with bloodshed; yet they produce great confusion, and disorder, and give rise to habits of insubordination, at the same time that they are ruinous to the character of a nation.

The vice royalty of Buenos Ayres differed from the rest in one important particular. It contained no nobility, or, if any, very few. This may be regarded as a favourable circum-

stance in their society. Another favourable feature, very necessary to the successful administration of their affairs, is the conduct of many individuals who have filled the highest office of state, in descending from that dignified situation, to inferior posts, and discharging their duties with alacrity. Thus, we behold general A. Balcarce, who was formerly director, acting as second in command to colonel San Martin. Colonel Alvarez, also a director at one period, now serving in the staff, under the chief of that department. General Azcuenega, and general Rondeau, once elected to the chair of state, is, at present, employed in a minor office. There are others who have occupied the same elevated post, who have retired to the station of private citizens.

The general capacities of the United Provinces for national defence are also important in many respects. The nature and extent of the country afford the inhabitants numerous advantages over an invading army. The ease with which their herds of cattle may be driven to distant places, beyond the reach of an enemy, and the rapid movements which the troops of the country can make, from the ample supply of horses and mules, are circumstances of great consequence in a military view. Even the towns not fortified, from the manner in which they are built, and from the construction of their houses, furnish powerful means of defence, as the British army under general Whitlock experienced in their attack on Buenos Ayres.

There are no prohibited books of any kind; all are permitted to circulate freely, or to be openly sold in the book-stores; among them is the New Testament in Spanish. This alone is a prodigious step towards the emancipation of their minds from prejudices. There are several book-stores, whose profits have rapidly increased; a proof that the number of readers has augmented in the same proportion. There had been a large importation of English books, a language becoming daily more familiar to them.

Eight years ago, the mechanic art of printing was scarcely known in Buenos Ayres: at present, there are three printing offices, one of them very extensive, containing four presses. The price of printing is, notwithstanding, at least three times higher than in the United States: but, as there is no trade or intercourse with Spain, all school books used in the country, some of them original, are published at Buenos Ayres; the business is therefore profitable, and rapidly extending. There are many political essays, which, instead of being inserted in the newspapers, are published in loose sheets: there are also original pamphlets, as well as publications of foreign works. The constitutions of the United States, and of the different states, together with a very good history of our country and many of our most important state papers, are widely circulated. The work of Dean Funes, the venerable historian of the country, comprised in three large octavo volumes, considering

VOL. I.

the infancy of the typographic art in this part of the world, may be regarded as an undertaking of some magnitude.

There are three weekly journals or newspapers published in this city, which have an extensive circulation through the United Provinces. They all advocate the principles of liberty and republican forms of government, as none other would suit the public taste. The year before last, it is true, one of the papers ventured to advocate the restoration of the Incas of Peru with a limited monarchy, but it was badly received. No proposition for the restoration of hereditary power of any kind, as far as I could learn, will be seriously listened to for a moment, by the people. Even the ordinary language had changed. They speak of "the state," "the people," "the public," "country," and use other terms, as in the United States, implying the interest that each man takes in what appertains to the community. The first principle constantly inculcated is, "that all power rightfully emanates from the people." This, and similar dogmas, form a part of the education of children, taught at the same time with their catechism. It is natural, that the passion for free government should be continually increasing. A fact may be mentioned to show the solid advancement they have made, which is, that the number of votes taken at their elections increases every year. In becoming habituated to this peaceful and orderly mode of exercising their right of choosing those who are to be invested with authority, the tumultuous and irregular removal, by a kind of general oratory or acclamation, of those who have been chosen, will gradually cease.

I am sensible that, in the course of these statements and remarks, some inaccuracies and errors must have occurred; but they have been unintentional. I have only to add, that the reception of the commissioners at Buenos Ayres, by the chief magistrate, was friendly and flattering.

From every class they met with a cordial welcome. The people in general appeared to be very much attached to the American character, and to the government and citizens of the United States.

Should any thing further occur, it shall be made the subject of a future paper.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

C. A. RODNEY.

Fifteenth Congress.

SECOND SESSION.

The following abstract of the proceedings of Congress, is made from the National Intelligencer.

The session commenced on the 16th November; the first days, were, as usual, princi-

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pally employed in preparatory business, such as appointing committees, officers, &c.

November 19.

REPRESENTATIVES.—The committee on naval affairs was instructed to inquire into the expediency of extending, for a further term of five years, the pensions to the widows and orphans of the officers, sailors, and marines, killed on board the armed ships of the United States during the late war.

The committee on military affairs was instructed to inquire into the expediency of establishing one or more additional military academies.

The Constitution of the State of Illinois was referred to a select committee, to consider and report thereon.

The committee on military affairs was instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law, for the payment of property destroyed during the Seminole war.

November 20.

SENATE.—The standing committees were appointed by ballot, as was also a select committee on Indian affairs.

REPRESENTATIVES.—Several petitions were presented, among them one from Matthew Lyon, praying a compensation for his imprisonment and fine under the sedition law of 1798. It was referred to the committee on the judiciary.

The committee to which was referred the Constitution of the State of Illinois, reported a resolution declaring its admission into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states. This was read twice and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

The message of the president of the United States of January 18, 1816, recommending the confirmation of certain grants or reservations of lands by the friendly Creek Indians, to major general Andrew Jackson, colonel Benjamin Hawkins and others, was referred to the committee on private land claims.

The committee on public lands was directed to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting the emigration and settlement of the Choctaw tribe of Indians, on the lands of the United States west of the Mississippi, until they shall have acquired that right by treaty with the United States, founded on a cession of land east of the Mississippi by said Indians.

The committee of ways and means was instructed to inquire into the expediency of repealing the duty on salt, imported into the United States.

November 23.

The speaker laid before the house a letter from the chief justice of the district of Columbia, transmitting a code of jurisprudence for the district, formed in pursuance of an act of Congress of April 29, 1816. It was referred to a select committee.

A committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of authorising the employ-

ment of an additional number of clerks in the war department, not exceeding twelve.

[The reason assigned, was, that unless some such measure were adopted, the persons for whose relief the pension law of last session was designed, could not, for a long time, if ever, obtain the benefit intended thereby; for that owing to the deficiency of clerks, no application for that object, since the month of May last, had yet been decided on, though several clerks were constantly employed in that duty. The early applications were of course first attended to, and had not yet been despatched.]

The engrossed resolution for admitting the state of Illinois into the Union, was read a third time.

Mr. Tallmadge, of New York, opposed it, because there was no proof given, except the preamble in the constitution, that the territory contained the population required by the law of the last session. It was not, however, on this point that he meant to rest his opposition. The principle of slavery if not adopted in the constitution, was at least not sufficiently prohibited. The ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio, which was in the nature of a convention between the United States and the people of the states and territories to be formed out of that territory; provided, that in the whole North Western Territory, there should be neither *slavery* nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than as a punishment for the commission of crimes. If the constitution were found to comport with that provision, it ought to be received by Congress: if not, it ought to be rejected. The sixth article of the constitution of the new state of Illinois, in each of its three sections, he contended, contravened this stipulation.

Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, defended the constitution, as being sufficiently opposed to slavery.—In the course of his speech he observed, that with respect to constitutional provisions on this subject, it would be found impracticable, after admitting the independence of the state, to prevent it from framing or shaping its constitution as it thought proper.

Mr. Anderson, of Kentucky, stated his belief, that the population was of the required amount. Congress were not bound by any obligation arising from a compact with the people of the North Western Territory, because no such compact had ever been made. The conditions reserved by Virginia on making a cession of the territory to the United States, were, that a certain number of states should be erected from the territory, and all existing rights of the people preserved. There were slaves in the territory at that day. Doubts had arisen, whether under the stipulation made by Virginia, Congress had a right to prescribe any condition respecting slavery.

Mr. Tallmadge replied—If Congress were bound by nothing but their sense of expediency, *that tie* became ten thousand times more strong. With respect to the power of a state to change its constitution, he was not

prepared to say that a state was in that respect under no restraint. If a state were to change its constitution and form itself into a monarchy, it would cease by the very act to be a component part of the Union; and the same result would follow, he presumed, if a state were to violate the condition on which it was admitted into this Union, by admitting the introduction of slavery.

Mr. Harrison, as a representative from Ohio, one of the states formed from this territory, protested against this doctrine. The people of that state would never come to this house for permission so to alter their constitution, as to permit the introduction of slavery. They had entered into no compact which had shorn the people of their sovereign authority.

The bill passed, 117 to 34.

November 24.

SENATE.—The annual report from the secretary of the treasury was received.

Mr. Fromentin submitted a resolution requesting of the president of the United States such information as he may possess, not heretofore communicated, touching the execution of so much of the first article of the late treaty of peace between his Britannic majesty and the United States, as relates to the restitution of slaves.

Mr. Noble submitted a resolution to instruct the committee on public lands, to inquire into the expediency of continuing in force until the 31st March, 1821, the act to "suspend for a limited time the sale or forfeiture of lands for failure in completing the payments thereon."

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of Matthew Lyon, made a report adverse thereto, which was referred to a committee of the whole house.

REPRESENTATIVES.—Mr. Hopkinson, under the instruction of the judiciary committee, reported a bill to establish an uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States. In introducing this bill, Mr. H. remarked, that the bill was in form the same which he had the honour to introduce to the consideration of Congress at their last session. It was not his intention, he said, to fatigue the house by a long argument at present; but he had thought it his duty to bring the subject once more before Congress, and have a vote taken on it; because the necessities of the people demanded it, and in the hope that, during the recess of Congress, the opinions of some gentlemen might have changed, from reflection, or from information derived from others, of the pressing occasion for such a law. Mr. H. hoped that gentlemen would not turn from this question with alarm, but that there would be a fair expression of the opinion of Congress on the subject.

The bill was read and committed.

The committee to whom the subject was referred, reported a bill to increase the number of clerks in the war department: which was twice read and committed.

The committee to whom the subject was referred, reported a bill to authorise the election of a delegate from the Michigan Territory to Congress, and extending the right of suffrage to the people of that territory: which was twice read and committed.

The house proceeded to the ORDERS OF THE DAY lying over from the last session, which by a rule of the house, are revived in *statu quo*, at the expiration of the first week of the present session.

November 25.

SENATE.—Mr. Barbour introduced a bill to increase the salaries of certain officers of the government.

Mr. Sanford offered certain resolutions of the state of New York, instructing its senators and requesting its representatives to endeavour to procure the adoption of the amendment to the constitution, proposed by North Carolina, for districting the states by an uniform rule for the election of representatives and electors of president and vice-president, and the same were read.

Mr. Storer offered certain like proceedings of the state of New Hampshire.

The resolution for the admission of Illinois into the Union, was received, twice read, and referred to the committee on public lands, to consider and report thereon.

Mr. Goldsborough introduced a resolution to erect a monument over the remains of WASHINGTON, where they now lie; it was read and passed to a second reading.

Mr. Williams, of T. offered for consideration, a resolution to increase the pay of the army.

REPRESENTATIVES.—Mr. Spencer offered for consideration, a resolution to appoint a committee to inquire into the proceedings of the bank of the United States.

The committee of ways and means was instructed to inquire into the expediency of allowing in cases of exportation of goods entitled to debenture, the same time (of 20 days) for completing the export *entry and oath*, as is allowed by the act of the 20th April last, for executing the export *bonds*, in lieu of ten days within which it is now required that the said oath and entry shall be completed.

After a discussion in committee of the whole on the appointment of twelve additional clerks to the war department, it was reported and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

It was stated during the debate, that the applications under the pension act of last session amounted to 19,973; of which 4,200 had been favourably decided; 3,400 had been rejected or suspended for further evidence, and 12,373 remained to be decided. In this duty ten clerks had been employed, who had decided on as many as possible.

November 26.

SENATE.—The joint resolution, to request the president to obtain permission of the hon. Bushrod Washington for Congress to erect a monument over the remains of WASHINGTON, where they now lie; and to authorise him to

offer a certain sum for the best plan of a monument, to be decided by the president, the chief justice, the secretaries of departments, and the attorney general, was read a second time.

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November 27.

SENATE.—The bill to increase the salaries of certain officers of the government was read the third time, and the blanks filled with 6000 dollars, as the salary of the secretaries of the state, treasury, war and navy departments, 3500 for that of the attorney general, and 4000 dollars for that of the postmaster general.

It was passed and sent to the other house for concurrence.

REPRESENTATIVES.—After some other business the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill for the relief of the heirs of Caron de Beaumarchais.

[We will here anticipate the final fate of this bill, which after frequently occupying the house, and exciting a considerable display of talent, was rejected by a majority of 4 to 1. It appears to have been the general opinion, that the merchandise for which the heirs claim, was a gift to the United States by the government of France, who made use of the agency of Beaumarchais as a cover to the transaction.]

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November 30.

REPRESENTATIVES.—A committee was appointed to inspect the books of the Bank of the United States; and report upon its state and proceedings.

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December 1.

SENATE.—Mr. Forsyth laid on the table the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee on finance be instructed to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting the exportation of the gold and silver and copper coins of the United States.

The resolution for the admission of the state of Illinois into the union, was passed and returned to the other house.

REPRESENTATIVES.—The committee on public lands reported a bill to prohibit the Choctaw tribe of Indians from settling or hunting on the lands of the United States, west of the Mississippi, which was twice read and committed.

Mr. Linn, of N. J. offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee appointed on so much of the message of the president of the United States as relates to the unlawful introduction of slaves into the United States, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of passing a law prohibiting the migration or transportation of slaves or servants of colour, from any state to any other part of the United States, in cases where, by the laws of such state, such transportation is prohibited.

Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, objected to it. Any man, he said, had a right to remove

his property from one state to another, and slaves as well as any other property, if not prohibited from doing so by the state laws. With these laws the United States had no right to interfere. It was a novel idea that there should be a double set of statutes on the same subject, one set by the states and one by the United States. How were the United States to interfere on this subject? What judicial tribunal would they resort to, to effect the object contemplated? Any penal statute they could pass on the subject, could not be carried into effect; and he was therefore opposed even to an inquiry.

Resolution lost.—Ayes, 60.—Noes, 63.

The bill for granting a pension of 60 dollars per month to major general John Stark, was read a third time.

Mr. W. P. Maclay asked for information.

Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, knew not what were the claims of general Stark. Hoped they would be explained or should vote against the bill.

Mr. Harrison, of Ohio, had supposed, that the merits and revolutionary services of general Stark were better known. He was now poor and aged, and if aid were not soon given, he would not live to enjoy it. Was it possible, that an American Congress could behold so distinguished a patriot, sinking into the grave in the want of every necessary of life; or that they would coldly place him among the mass of pensions under the general act of last session. For his part, he would give out the last dollar in the treasury for the relief of general Stark. With him it was not a matter of choice to vote for the bill; it was an imperious duty.

Mr. Livermore stated that general Stark was 90 years of age, and his circumstances were very reduced.

Mr. Cobb did not doubt the merits of general Stark, but he had yet no evidence that the petition ought to be granted. If the House were to grant petitions to the old and infirm, where would they stop? Hereafter the same argument may be applied to those generals who distinguished themselves in the late war. The pension list had been too much swelled. General Stark had become poor, whether by misfortune or misconduct, he had not heard; but if he had been so long supported without the aid of government, he had no doubt he could be for the remainder of his life.

Mr. Livermore said, if the gentleman meant to insinuate that general Stark had become poor by fault of any kind, he was wholly mistaken.

The bill was passed without division, and sent to the senate for concurrence.

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December 2.

SENATE.—Mr. Ruggles laid on the table the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee on military affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making provision by law for clothing the army of the United States in domestic manufactures.

The resolution to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting the exportation of United States coins was agreed to.

The bill authorising the appointment of additional clerks for the war department was passed.

REPRESENTATIVES.—The committee of ways and means made a report adverse to the abolition of the duty on salt, which was committed to a committee of the whole.

The committee of military affairs reported a bill authorising the establishment of a national armory on the western waters.

The committee of public lands were ordered to inquire into the expediency of suspending the forfeiture of lands for failure in completing the payments due thereon to the United States.

In support of the motion for inquiry, it was said, that from the suspension of specie payments by the banks of Ohio, their notes were not receivable in payment, and great difficulty existed.

December 4.

SENATE.—The senators from Illinois took their seats.

December 7.

SENATE.—Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana, laid upon the table, the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the committee on military affairs, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of passing a law authorising the president of the United States, to take provisional possession of East Florida; or of such parts of it as he may deem essential, now or hereafter, to control the Indians, and to prevent them from committing hostilities against the United States."

REPRESENTATIVES.—The house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on the bill to authorise the apprehension of foreign seamen deserting from merchant vessels in the ports of the United States.

In support of the bill, it was stated, that in other countries there existed similar regulations, by which the American commerce was benefited, and which it was the object of the present bill to reciprocate.

Mr. Clay objected to it, because it took for granted, that no circumstances could justify a sailor for refusing to perform his contract. He might have quitted the vessel on account of abusive or cruel treatment, and was he to be seized without inquiry, and returned to the captain? The example of other nations had no weight with him; and if it had, it would be proper to become better acquainted with what they had done. Let us above all recollect, that whatever we do should have reference to the full enjoyment of personal rights that subsists in our country.

In reply, it was urged that the seaman was not proposed to be delivered up without a hearing, and that the magistrate had the right to discharge him, if the captain had failed in his part of the contract. That the provision was the same that had been in use with re-

gard to our own seamen since 1790, and which had till lately been supposed to apply equally to foreigners, and had been so acted upon. But some late decisions proving this to be erroneous, the defect in the law called for a remedy.

The debate occupied about one hour, and resulted in a virtual postponement of the question.

December 8.

SENATE.—The senate proceeded to the consideration of the report of the committee on the judiciary, unfavourable to the petition of Matthew Lyon.

A motion was made to reimburse all who were fined under the sedition law of 1798. It was considered by the supporters of the motion, that the law was unconstitutional. An animated debate took place; but the Senate adjourned without taking the question.

REPRESENTATIVES.—The committee on ways and means reported a bill to reduce the duties on certain wines, and to declare free of duty, books printed in foreign languages.

The speaker laid before the house, a report of the Secretary of War, of "a system providing for the abolition of the existing Indian trading establishments of the United States, and providing for the opening of the trade to individuals, under suitable regulations;" made in pursuance of a resolution of the 4th of April last.

[This report, containing an account of the manner in which the trade with the Indians has been carried on, since the establishment of our government; and a plan for so conducting it in future, as to promote peace among the remnants of this race, is very interesting, and shall soon be laid before our readers.]

December 9.

SENATE.—The senate decided 20 to 17, against interfering in any manner with the decisions under the sedition law of 1798.

REPRESENTATIVES.—An interesting debate took place on a motion for releasing the committee on military affairs, from the consideration of so much of the president's message as relates to the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and the conduct of the war with the Seminole Indians, and for referring the same to the committee of foreign relations.

It was contended, that a war had been carried on without the United States, and within the territories of Spain, and, therefore, it belonged to the committee on foreign relations to examine it. The discussion became quite animated, and gradually involved the merits of the Seminole war, &c. when the speaker interposed. The question was indefinitely postponed.

December 11.

SENATE.—Mr. Tait presented the memorial of the legislature of the territory of Alabama, petitioning for permission to form a constitution and state government, and to be admitted

into the union on an equal footing with the original states.—Which was referred to a select committee, with instructions to bring in a bill pursuant to the prayer of the memorial.

REPRESENTATIVES.—Mr. Williams, of North Carolina, moved,

“That the committee on military affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reducing the army of the United States.”

Ordered to lie on the table.

December 14.

SENATE.—Mr. Sanford laid on the table, a resolution to instruct the judiciary committee to inquire what provisions are necessary to give effect to the laws of the United States, in the state of Illinois.

The memorial of the Mississippi convention, praying an extension of the limits of that state; and the counter-memorial of the legislative council of Alabama, (both presented at the last session), were referred to the committee appointed on the admission of Alabama into the union.

Mr. Eaton submitted a resolution for the appointment of a committee, to inquire what amendments are necessary to the existing laws, the more effectually to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States.

Mr. King submitted the following motion for consideration:

“Resolved, That the committee of finance be, and they are hereby instructed to inquire into the expediency of such alteration in the laws concerning the coasting trade, as shall authorise ships and vessels of twenty tons and upwards, licensed to trade between the different districts of the United States, to carry on such trade between the said districts, in the manner and subject only to the regulations required to be observed in carrying on trade from district to district in the same state, or from a district in one state to a district in the next adjoining state.”

The president of the United States transmitted, in compliance with a resolution of this house, a report of the secretary of war, embracing the correspondence which took place between the governor of Georgia and major general Jackson, respecting the arrest, &c. of Obed Wright. Which was referred to the military committee.

December 15.

REPRESENTATIVES.—The speaker laid before the house, a report of the secretary of war, made in obedience to a resolution of April 17, directing him to report whether any reduction of the army could safely be made.

The committee on public lands, were instructed to inquire into the expediency of granting the several islands in the Tennessee river, lying within the limits of the Alabama Territory, for the improvement of the navigation of the said river.

The bill authorising the extension of the pensions to the widows and orphans of the

militia, who fell in battle, or died in service, during the late war, for five years longer, was passed and sent to the senate for concurrence.

A request for further information from the president relating to our affairs with Spain, was passed.

December 16.

SENATE.—Mr. Sanford laid on the table, the following motion:

Resolved, That the committee of commerce and manufactures, consider and report, what provisions may be proper for obtaining more accurate statements of the annual exports and imports of the United States.

Mr. King presented the memorial of the religious society of Friends in New York, petitioning Congress to extend to the Indian tribes further protection and instruction, &c. Which was referred.

The senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill for the relief of general Stark.

Mr. Roberts objected to the bill, though under the highest sense of general Stark's merits, on the general ground of being adverse to a system of pensions, when not justified by disability incurred in the public service; and because, in this instance, the application was not made by general Stark himself, but by others for him.

Mr. Fromentin advocated the bill earnestly. The silence of general Stark, was the most eloquent appeal he could possibly make for support: because age and infirmity had rendered him incapable of making his own petition.

Mr. King rose to remark, that if the senate were composed altogether of men of his age, he believed there would not be a dissenting voice against the bill: because they would all have then, personal recollection of the extraordinary services of general Stark.

Mr. Smith urged, that *if general Stark were so near his end as was represented, there was the less necessity for this bill, because he could not live long to enjoy it; and the doctrine was long since exploded, that a man had use for money after his decease—passage money was no longer deemed necessary.*

The bill was passed to a third reading—29 to 6.

REPRESENTATIVES.—It was resolved, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a separate territorial government in that part of the Missouri Territory, called the Arkansas country, which is not included in the proposed boundary of the projected state of Missouri.

A bill restricting the number of passengers that may be brought to this country, to two for every five tons, and obliging the captain to take on board a certain quantity of provisions, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

The necessity for the provisions of this bill was shewn, by several instances wherein great mortality had taken place, from want of proper precaution.

December 17.

SENATE.—Mr. MORROW presented the memorial of the religious society of Friends of Maryland, and parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia adjacent, praying some meliorating measures respecting the Indian tribes on our borders. Which was read, and referred.

December 18.

SENATE.—The committee appointed on the subject, reported a bill to authorise the people of the territory of Alabama to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the union, on an equal footing with the original states.

It was resolved, "that the message of the president and documents relative to the Seminole war, be referred to a select committee, who shall have authority, if necessary, to send for persons and papers; that said committee inquire relative to the advance of the United States' troops into West Florida; whether the officers in command at Pensacola and St. Marks, were amenable to and under the control of Spain; and, particularly, what circumstances existed to authorise or justify the commanding general in taking possession of those posts."

The bill for the relief of general Stark, was passed.

REPRESENTATIVES.—The speaker laid before the house, the memorial of the legislature of the territory of Missouri, praying that the people of that territory may be authorised to form a constitution and state government, and be admitted into the union.

MASSACHUSETTS' CLAIM.

The speaker having called over, among the orders of the day, that on the bill providing for the payment of the claim of the state of Massachusetts, for expenses incurred by her militia during the late war—

Mr. Mason, of Massachusetts, begged that the order of the day might be passed for the present, as the delegation from Massachusetts were desirous of receiving further documents relative to the claim.

The house, however, went into a committee of the whole, on the subject.

Mr. Clay made a motion, that the committee should rise, because Mr. Mason was chairman of the committee who reported the bill, and it was usual, in such cases, to allow the chairman to choose his own time for calling it up. He hoped the gentlemen in favour of the claim, might have time to prepare themselves for the discussion.

Mr. Tallmadge wished, that if the report were not acted on at the present session, it (the report) should not be thought an argument in favour of the claim. From courtesy to the state, it was left to her immediate representative to make a statement of her own case in her own way. The report could not, therefore, be considered as shewing the sense of the house.

Leave was given to the committee to sit again.

President's Message.

WASHINGTON, November 17, 1818.

This day, at 12 o'clock, the President of the United States transmitted to both houses of Congress, by his Secretary, Mr. J. J. Monroe, the following Message:—

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives:*

The auspicious circumstances, under which you will commence the duties of the present session, will lighten the burthen, inseparable from the high trust committed to you. The fruits of the earth have been unusually abundant; commerce has flourished; the revenue has exceeded the most favourable anticipation, and peace and amity are preserved with foreign nations, on conditions just and honourable to our country. For these inestimable blessings, we cannot but be grateful to that Providence which watches over the destinies of nations.

As the term limited for the operation of the commercial convention with Great Britain will expire early in the month of July next, and it was deemed important that there should be no interval, during which, that portion of our commerce which was provided for by that convention should not be regulated, either by arrangement between the two governments, or by the authority of congress, the minister of the United States at London, was instructed, early in the last summer, to invite the attention of the British government to the subject, with a view to that object. He was instructed to propose, also, that the negotiation which it was wished to open, might extend to the general commerce of the two countries, and to every other interest and unsettled difference between them; particularly those relating to impressment, the fisheries, and boundaries, in the hope that an arrangement might be made, on principles of reciprocal advantage, which might comprehend, and provide in a satisfactory manner, for all these high concerns. I have the satisfaction to state, that the proposal was received by the British government in the spirit which prompted it; and that a negotiation has been opened at London, embracing all these objects. On full consideration of the great extent and magnitude of the trust, it was thought proper to commit it to not less than two of our distinguished citizens, and, in consequence, the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, has been associated with our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, at London; to both of whom corresponding instructions have been given, and they are now engaged in the discharge of its duties. It is proper to add, that, to prevent any inconvenience resulting from the delay incident to a negotiation on so many important subjects, it was agreed, before entering on it, that the existing convention should be continued for a term not less than eight years.

Our relations with Spain remain nearly in

the state in which they were at the close of the last session. The convention of 1802, providing for the adjustment of a certain portion of the claims of our citizens for injuries sustained by spoliation, and so long suspended by the Spanish government, has at length been ratified by it; but no arrangement has yet been made for the payment of another portion of like claims, not less extensive or well founded, or for other classes of claims, or for the settlement of boundaries. These subjects have again been brought under consideration in both countries, but no agreement has been entered into respecting them. In the mean time, events have occurred, which clearly prove the ill effects of the policy, which that government has so long pursued, on the friendly relations of the two countries, which, it is presumed, it is at least of as much importance to Spain, as to the United States, to maintain. A state of things has existed in the Floridas, the tendency of which has been obvious to all who have paid the slightest attention to the progress of affairs in that quarter. Throughout the whole of those provinces to which the Spanish title extends, the government of Spain has scarcely been felt. Its authority has been confined, almost exclusively, to the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, within which only small garrisons have been maintained. Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves, have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those provinces. These different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding on the one side, the authority of Spain, and protected on the other by an imaginary line which separates Florida from the United States, have violated our laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practised various frauds on our revenue, and committed every kind of outrage on our peaceable citizens, which their proximity to us enabled them to perpetrate. The invasion of Amelia Island last year by a small band of adventurers, not exceeding one hundred and fifty in number, who wrested it from the inconsiderable Spanish force stationed there, and held it several months, during which, a single feeble effort only was made to recover it, which failed, clearly proves how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become; as the conduct of those adventurers, while in possession of the island, as distinctly shows the pernicious purposes for which their combinations had been formed.

This country had in fact become the theatre of every species of lawless adventure. With little population of its own, the Spanish authority almost extinct, and the colonial governments in a state of revolution, having no pretension to it, and sufficiently employed in their own concerns, it was, in a great measure, derelict, and the object of cupidity to every adventurer. A system of buccaneering was rapidly organizing over it, which me-

naced, in its consequences, the lawful commerce of every nation, and particularly of the United States; while it presented a temptation to every people, on whose seduction its success principally depended. In regard to the United States, the pernicious effect of this unlawful combination, was not confined to the ocean; the Indian tribes have constituted the effective force in Florida. With these tribes these adventurers had formed, at an early period, a connexion, with a view to avail themselves of that force to promote their own projects of accumulation and aggrandizement. It is to the interference of some of these adventurers, in misrepresenting the claims and titles of the Indians to land, and in practising on their savage propensities, that the Seminole war is principally to be traced. Men who thus connect themselves with savage communities, and stimulate them to war, which is always attended on their part with acts of barbarity the most shocking, deserve to be viewed in a worse light than the savages.

They would certainly have no claim to an immunity from the punishment, which, according to the rules of warfare practised by the savages, might justly be inflicted on the savages themselves.

If the embarrassments of Spain prevented her from making an indemnity to our citizens, for so long a time, from her treasury, for their losses by spoliation and otherwise, it was always in her power to have provided it, by the cession of this territory. Of this her government has been repeatedly apprised; and the cession was the more to be anticipated, as Spain must have known, that in ceding it, she would, in effect, cede what had become of little value to her, and would likewise relieve herself from the important obligation secured by the treaty of 1795, and all other commitments respecting it. If the United States, from consideration of these embarrassments, declined pressing their claims in a spirit of hostility, the motive ought, at least, to have been duly appreciated by the government of Spain. It is well known to her government, that other powers have made to the United States an indemnity for like losses, sustained by their citizens at the same epoch.

There is, nevertheless, a limit, beyond which, this spirit of amity and forbearance can, in no instance, be justified. If it was proper to rely on amicable negotiation for an indemnity for losses, it would not have been so, to have permitted the inability of Spain to fulfil her engagements, and to sustain her authority in the Floridas, to be perverted by foreign adventurers and savages, to purposes so destructive to the lives of our fellow citizens, and the highest interests of the United States. The right of self-defence never ceases. It is among the most sacred, and alike necessary to nations and to individuals. And whether the attack be made by Spain herself, or by those who abuse her power, its obligation is not the less strong. The invaders of Amelia Island had assumed a popular and respected title, under which they might approach

and wound us. As their object was distinctly seen, and the duty imposed on the Executive by an existing law, was profoundly felt, that mask was not permitted to protect them. It was thought incumbent on the United States, to suppress the establishment, and it was accordingly done. The combination in Florida, for the unlawful purposes stated; the acts perpetrated by that combination; and, above all, the incitement of the Indians to massacre our fellow citizens, of every age, and of both sexes, merited a like treatment, and received it. In pursuing these savages to an imaginary line, in the woods, it would have been the height of folly to have suffered that line to protect them. Had that been done, the war could never cease. Even if the territory had been exclusively that of Spain, and her power complete over it, we had a right, by the law of nations, to follow the enemy on it, and to subdue him there. But the territory belonged, in a certain sense, at least, to the savage enemy who inhabited it; the power of Spain had ceased to exist over it, and protection was sought, under her title, by those who had committed on our citizens hostilities, which she was bound by treaty to have prevented, but had not the power to prevent. To have stopped at that line, would have given new encouragement to these savages, and new vigour to the whole combination existing there, in the prosecution of all its pernicious purposes.

In suppressing the establishment at Amelia Island, no unfriendliness was manifested towards Spain, because the post was taken from a force which had wrested it from her. The measure, it is true, was not adopted in concert with the Spanish government, or those in authority under it, because, in transactions connected with the war in which Spain and her colonies are engaged, it was thought proper, in doing justice to the United States, to maintain a strict impartiality towards both the belligerent parties, without consulting or acting in concert with either. It gives me pleasure to state, that the governments of Buenos Ayres and Venezuela, whose names were assumed, have explicitly disclaimed all participation in those measures, and even the knowledge of them, until communicated by this government, and have also expressed their satisfaction, that a course of proceeding had been suppressed, which, if justly imputable to them, would dishonour their cause.

In authorising Major General Jackson to enter Florida, in pursuit of the Seminoles, care was taken not to encroach on the rights of Spain. I regret to have to add, that in executing this order, facts were disclosed respecting the conduct of the officers of Spain, in authority there, in encouraging the war, furnishing munitions of war, and other supplies to carry it on, and in other acts not less marked, which evinced the participation in the hostile purposes of that combination, and justified the confidence with which it inspired the savages, that by these officers they would be protected. A conduct so incom-

patible with the friendly relations existing between the two countries, particularly with the positive obligation of the fifth article of the treaty of 1795, by which Spain was bound to restrain, even by force, those savages from acts of hostility against the United States, could not fail to excite surprise. The commanding general was convinced, that he should fail in his object, that he should in effect accomplish nothing, if he did not deprive those savages of the resources on which they had calculated, and of the protection on which they had relied, in making the war. As all the documents relating to this occurrence will be laid before Congress, it is not necessary to enter into further detail respecting it.

Although the reasons which induced Major General Jackson to take these posts, were duly appreciated, there was, nevertheless, no hesitation in deciding on the course which it became the government to pursue. As there was reason to believe that the commanders of these posts have violated their instructions, there was no disposition to impute to their government a conduct so unprovoked and hostile. An order was in consequence issued to the general in command there, to deliver the posts; Pensacola, unconditionally, to any person duly authorised to receive it; and St. Marks, which is in the heart of the Indian country, on the arrival of a competent force to defend it against those savages and their associates.

In entering Florida, to suppress this combination, no idea was entertained of hostility to Spain; and, however justifiable the commanding general was, in consequence of the misconduct of the Spanish officers, in entering St. Marks and Pensacola, to terminate it, by proving to the savages and their associates, that they should not be protected even there; yet the amicable relations existing between the United States and Spain, could not be altered by that act alone. By ordering the restitution of the posts, those relations were preserved. To a change of them, the power of the Executive is deemed incompetent; it is vested in Congress only.

By this measure, so promptly taken, due respect was shown to the government of Spain. The misconduct of her officers has not been imputed to her. She was enabled to review with candour her relations with the United States, and her own situation, particularly in respect to the territory in question, with the dangers inseparable from it; and regarding the losses we have sustained, for which indemnity has been so long withheld, and the injuries we have suffered through that territory, and her means of redress, she was likewise enabled to take, with honour, the course best calculated to do justice to the United States, and to promote her own welfare.

Copies of the instructions to the commanding general; of his correspondence with the Secretary of War, explaining his motives, and justifying his conduct, with a copy of the

proceedings of the courts martial in the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister; and of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the minister plenipotentiary of Spain, near this government; and of the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid, with the government of Spain, will be laid before Congress.

The civil war which has so long prevailed between Spain and the provinces in South America, still continues, without any prospect of its speedy termination. The information respecting the condition of those countries, which has been collected by the Commissioners recently returned from thence, will be laid before Congress, in copies of their reports, with such information as has been received from other agents of the United States.

It appears from these communications, that the government of Buenos Ayres declared itself independent in July, 1816, having previously exercised the power of an independent government, though in the name of the king of Spain, from the year 1810; that the Banda Oriental, Entre Reos, and Paraguay, with the city of Santa Fee, all of which are also independent, are unconnected with the present government of Buenos Ayres; that Chili has declared itself independent, and is closely connected with Buenos Ayres; that Venezuela has also declared itself independent, and now maintains the conflict with various success; and that the remaining parts of South America, except Monte Video, and such other portions of the eastern bank of the La Plata as are held by Portugal, are still in the possession of Spain, or, in a certain degree, under her influence.

By a circular note, addressed by the ministers of Spain to the allied powers with whom they are respectfully accredited, it appears, that the allies have undertaken to mediate between Spain and the South American provinces; and that the manner and extent of their interposition would be settled by a congress, which was to have met at Aix-la-Chapelle in September last. From the general policy and course of proceeding observed by the allied powers, in regard to this contest, it is inferred, that they will confine their interposition to the expression of their sentiments, abstaining from the application of force. I state this impression, that force will not be applied, with the greater satisfaction, because it is a course more consistent with justice, and likewise, authorises a hope, that the calamities of the war will be confined to the parties only, and will be of short duration.

From the view taken of this subject, founded on all the information that we have been able to obtain, there is good cause to be satisfied with the course heretofore pursued by the United States, in regard to this contest, and to conclude that it is proper to adhere to it, especially in the present state of affairs.

I have great satisfaction in stating, that our relations with France, Russia, and other powers, continue on the most friendly basis.

In our domestic concerns, we have ample cause of satisfaction. The receipts into the treasury, during the three first quarters of the year, have exceeded seventeen millions of dollars.

After satisfying all the demands which have been made under existing appropriations, including the final extinction of the old six per cent. stock, and the redemption of a moiety of the Louisiana debt, it is estimated that there will remain in the treasury, on the first day of January next, more than two millions of dollars.

It is ascertained, that the gross revenue which has accrued from the customs, during the same period, amounts to twenty-one millions of dollars, and that the revenue of the whole year may be estimated at not less than twenty-six millions. The sale of the public lands, during the year, has also greatly exceeded, both in quantity and price, that of any former year; and there is just reason to expect, a progressive improvement in that source of revenue.

It is gratifying to know, that although the annual expenditure has been increased, by the act of the last session of Congress, providing for revolutionary pensions, to an amount about equal to the proceeds of the internal duties, which were then repealed, the revenue for the ensuing year will be proportionably augmented; and that, whilst the public expenditure will probably remain stationary, each successive year will add to the national resources, by the ordinary increase of our population, and by the gradual development of our latent sources of national prosperity.

The strict execution of the revenue laws, resulting principally from the salutary provisions of the act of the 20th April last, amending the several collection laws, has, it is presumed, secured to domestic manufactures all the relief that can be derived from the duties, which have been imposed upon foreign merchandise, for their protection. Under the influence of this relief, several branches of this important national interest have assumed greater activity, and, although it is hoped that others will gradually revive, and ultimately triumph over every obstacle, yet the expediency of granting further protection is submitted to your consideration.

The measures of defence, authorised by existing laws, have been pursued with the zeal and activity due to so important an object, and with all the despatch practicable in so extensive and great an undertaking. The survey of our maritime and inland frontiers has been continued; and at the points where it was decided to erect fortifications, the work has been commenced, and, in some instances, considerable progress has been made. In compliance with resolutions of the last session, the board of commissioners were direct-

ed to examine in a particular manner the parts of the coast therein designated, and to report their opinion of the most suitable sites for two naval depots. This work is in a train of execution. The opinion of the board on this subject, with a plan of all the works necessary to a general system of defence, so far as it has been formed, will be laid before Congress, in a report from the proper department, as soon as it can be prepared.

In conformity with the appropriations of the last session, treaties have been formed with the Quapaw tribe of Indians, inhabiting the country on the Arkansaw, and with the Great and Little Osages north of the White river; with the tribes in the state of Indiana; with the several tribes within the state of Ohio, and the Michigan territory; and with the Chickasaws; by which very extensive cessions of territory have been made to the United States. Negotiations are now depending with the tribes in the Illinois territory; and with the Choctaws, by which it is expected that, other extensive cessions will be made.— I take great interest in stating that the cessions already made, which are considered so important to the United States, have been obtained on conditions very satisfactory to the Indians.

With a view to the security of our inland frontiers, it has been thought expedient to establish strong posts at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, and at the Mandan village, on the Missouri; and at the mouth of St. Peters, on the Mississippi, at no great distance from our northern boundaries. It can hardly be presumed, while such posts are maintained in the rear of the Indian tribes, that they will venture to attack our peaceable inhabitants. A strong hope is entertained that this measure will likewise be productive of much good to the tribes themselves; especially in promoting the great object of their civilization. Experience has clearly demonstrated, that independent savage communities cannot long exist within the limits of a civilized population. The progress of the latter has, almost invariably, terminated in the extinction of the former, especially of the tribes belonging to our portion of this hemisphere, among whom, loftiness of sentiment, and gallantry in action, have been conspicuous. To civilize them, and even to prevent their extinction, it seems to be indispensable that their independence, as communities, should cease, and that the control of the United States over them should be complete and undisputed. The hunter state will then be more easily abandoned, and recourse will be had to the acquisition and culture of land, and to other pursuits tending to dissolve the ties which connect them together as a savage community, and to give a new character to every individual. I present this subject to the consideration of Congress, on the presumption that it may be found expedient and practicable to adopt some benevolent provisions, having these objects in view, relative to the tribes within our settlements.

It has been necessary during the present year, to maintain a strong naval force in the Mediterranean, and in the Gulf of Mexico, and to send some public ships along the southern coast, and to the Pacific ocean. By these means amicable relations with the Barbary powers have been preserved, our commerce has been protected, and our rights respected. The augmentation of our navy is advancing with a steady progress, towards the limit contemplated by law.

I communicate with great satisfaction, the accession of another state, Illinois, to our Union, because I perceive, from the proof afforded by the additions already made, the regular progress and sure consummation of a policy, of which history affords no example, and of which the good effect cannot be too highly estimated. By extending our government, on the principles of our constitution, over the vast territory within our limits, on the Lakes and the Mississippi, and its numerous streams, new life and vigour are infused into every part of our system. By increasing the number of the states, the confidence of the state governments in their own security is increased, and their jealousy of the national government proportionably diminished. The impracticability of one consolidated government for this great and growing nation, will be more apparent, and will be universally admitted. Incapable of exercising local authority, except for general purposes, the general government will no longer be dreaded. In those cases of a local nature, and for all the great purposes for which it was instituted, its authority will be cherished. Each government will acquire new force and a greater freedom of action, within its proper sphere. Other inestimable advantages will follow; our produce will be augmented to an incalculable amount, in articles of the greatest value for domestic use and foreign commerce. Our navigation will, in like degree, be increased; and, as the shipping of the Atlantic states will be employed in the transportation of the vast produce of the western country, even those parts of the United States which are the most remote from each other will be further bound together by the strongest ties which mutual interest can create.

The situation of this District, it is thought, requires the attention of Congress. By the Constitution, the power of legislation is exclusively vested in the Congress of the United States. In the exercise of this power, in which the people have no participation, Congress legislate in all cases, directly, on the local concerns of the district. As this is a departure, for a special purpose, from the general principles of our system, it may merit consideration, whether an arrangement better adapted to the principles of our government and to the particular interest of the people, may not be devised, which will neither infringe the constitution, nor affect the object which the provision in question was intended to secure. The growing population, already considerable, and the increasing business of

the district, which it is believed already interferes with the deliberations of Congress on great national concerns, furnish additional motives for recommending this subject to your consideration.

When we view the great blessings with which our country has been favoured, those which we now enjoy, and the means which we possess of handing them down, unimpaired, to our latest posterity, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the source from whence they flow. Let us then unite in offering our most grateful acknowledgments for these blessings to the Divine Author of all good.

JAMES MONROE.

November 17th, 1818.

Governor's Message.

HARRISBURGH, Dec. 3, 1818.

This day, at 12 o'clock, the Governor transmitted to both houses of the Legislature, by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the following message:—

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—

The beneficence of Divine Providence continues to be extended to our country in the general diffusion of health, the blessings of peace, and the abundant fruits of the earth, and demands our devout acknowledgments.

In observing the federal administration, pursuing an enlightened and impartial course of policy, neither indulging ambition, nor evincing timidity; ready to do justice to other nations, and to redress the wrongs and maintain the rights and independence of our own; and as public agents of Pennsylvania, witnessing the protection which every worthy man enjoys in his person, his religion, his labour and his property, and tracing the gradual extension of her settlements, and the rapid progress of internal improvement; a fair occasion is presented to us for mutual congratulation.

This period of tranquillity and prosperity affords an opportunity, and strongly invites us to persevere in the measures that have been commenced, and to adopt such others as may be deemed necessary for the promotion of the happiness of the people; the true and legitimate end of a republican government. To the attainment of this, the establishment of a system of education, as enjoined by the constitution, is essential, and has been but partially complied with. It is a fact of general notoriety, that there is not a seminary of learning in the interior of the state, in which the preparatory education considered by several sects of christians as indispensable to the licensing a preacher of the Gospel, or which is necessary for the higher branches of mechanics, can be acquired. Of course many of our youth who have those pursuits in

view, as well as others who are desirous of obtaining a liberal education, resort to the colleges of our sister states, thereby adding to the expense of their collegiate education, and withdrawing the amount of it from the circulating medium of our own state. The cause of religion, therefore, the interests of general science, and of the useful and ornamental arts, as well as the principles of economy, urge me to suggest for your consideration, either the relieving of Dickinson College, at Carlisle, from its pecuniary embarrassments, so as to enable it to resume its functions on a secure and respectable basis; or, what might be more conducive to the credit of the commonwealth, and to the public benefit, the consolidating the funds and interests of two or more of our literary institutions, under such modifications as they would approve, and establishing an university in a central part of the state. An institution of this nature, should be endowed in such a manner that the tutors or professors may not be entirely dependant on the casual profit of tuition, or the number of students, which might operate against the maintenance of good order and discipline, nor yet so liberally that they would have no motive left for individual exertion; and its departments should be so arranged that the different grades of education, from the rudiments of grammar, to the highest scientific and professional learning, might be attained.

To provide for the education of the poor, gratuitously, is also a duty equally imperative and important. This subject has at different periods, occupied the attention of the legislature; but the measures hitherto adopted, have not proved commensurate with the laudable motives by which they were dictated. The diversity of languages, taught in the state, with other circumstances, present great difficulties in establishing a general system, that would be wholly free from objection; but, I trust, they are not insurmountable.— Concentrating, as you do, a knowledge of the local situation and views of the people in every quarter of the state, aided by the light derived from experiments made by your predecessors, you must be competent, and I trust, desirous, to devise a system that will accommodate the wants, and favour the wishes of every section of the commonwealth. Arduous and difficult as the task may be, its performance would bring with it an ample reward. Education has such an influence in improving and expanding the intellectual powers, and in infusing into youthful and untainted minds, correct ideas of religion, justice and honor, that crimes are not so frequently associated with it as with ignorance and debasement of mind. The general dissemination of information, by enabling all to become acquainted with their duties and rights, tends to prevent the commission of crimes, an effect not to be expected from penal laws alone. It may indeed be questioned, how far it is correct in a government to punish offences

without making an effort to enable the people to acquire a knowledge of the laws and their relative duties in society.

The defects in the administration of civil justice continue to be a topic of complaint.— Whether this arises from radical errors in the organization of the whole, or any part of our judiciary system, or from the rules of practice adopted under it; the true cause ought to be sought, and a proper remedy afforded. It must be obvious, that however equitable and salutary our laws may be, their beneficial effects must be greatly diminished, unless our public tribunals, by whatever name they may be called, be organized in such a form, and their proceedings regulated in such a manner, that they may expeditiously and satisfactorily apply the provisions of the laws to the cases that arise under them.

The delays incident to the prosecution of suits to a final determination, amount, in some instances, nearly to a denial of justice. It is ascertained, from authentic sources, that one hundred and seventy suits in error are now pending before the supreme court, the period of the decision of which is so distant and uncertain, that the procrastination may prove ruinous to many worthy suitors. As a remissness of duty has not been alleged or insinuated against the judges of the court, this serious and growing evil must be attributed to some other cause, which it is worthy the wisdom of the legislature to trace, and their duty to remove.

As agriculture and manufactures are the great sources of wealth, and the only solid foundation of our comforts and independence, they are particularly entitled to the fostering care of government. The power of cherishing and protecting manufactures, on an extended scale, or beyond those of the household directly connected with agriculture, belongs more immediately to the general, than the state government. Agriculture, the basis of manufactures, and the most essential of all the arts to the general welfare, is fully within the scope of our constitutional powers to aid and encourage, and has a strong claim to legislative patronage. Pennsylvania, from the free principle of her political institutions, her genial climate, the fertility of her soil, and the enterprise of her citizens, without having received any direct support from the government, more than the common protection afforded to labour and property, deservedly sustains the character of an agricultural state.

The knowledge, however, of the art of husbandry, may be improved; and it is not only the interest, but should be the pride of the representatives of an agricultural people, to promote its advancement. Though the art may be enlightened and assisted by science, it is not from speculation and theories alone, but from various and repeated experiments, together with close observation, that a proper knowledge of it is to be attained. The expense of making such experiments, frequent-

ly uncertain in their results, few individuals have the ability or inclination to encounter. It might therefore be advantageous, if the commonwealth were to purchase within her limits, several small farms, situated in different latitudes, and embracing various qualities of soil, and place them under the superintendence of boards of managers or voluntary societies, formed for the purpose, with directions respectively to make experiments of the effects of native manures; of the different modes of tillage; of the cultivation of grains and grasses; of breeding domestic animals; of rearing fruit trees; of the preservation of fruits; of the utility of newly invented implements of husbandry, intended to facilitate or abridge labour; of the cheapest and most durable mode of fencing; and whatever else may be connected with agriculture; and periodically to publish the results, with observations thereon. The expenses of such establishments would be trivial, when compared with the knowledge that might be thereby acquired and diffused on a subject in which every citizen is deeply interested.

To encourage and stimulate industry, the great spring of the improvement and extension of agriculture, easy and safe channels of transportation for the products of the soil to a certain market, are indispensable. By the bounty of former legislatures, and the meritorious exertions of companies incorporated for the purpose, about nine hundred and eighty miles of turnpike road have been completed, and numerous elegant and substantial bridges erected across our principal streams. But much still remains to be performed. The completion of roads, that are now for want of funds progressing slowly under the direction of companies, might, by an accession thereto, be accelerated, and the public interest promoted.

Internal navigation affords the cheapest, the most certain, and the most expeditious mode of transportation: yet there has not been much effected towards its improvement, notwithstanding the number, relative situations, and diversified courses of our streams, are admirably well calculated for the purpose. When you reflect on the laudable spirit of enterprise displayed on this interesting subject, by some of our neighbouring states, I am persuaded you will concur with me in the opinion, that to avail ourselves of the benefits that may be derived from our local position, and the other natural advantages which we possess, a general and comprehensive system for the improvement of our internal navigation ought to be adopted; and that after a proper plan of operations is maturely formed, it should be uniformly adhered to and steadily prosecuted.

The idea of connecting the western waters of the Ohio and the great Lakes with the tide waters of the Delaware, at or near the city of Philadelphia, has been often suggested, and many believe it to be practicable. There is no object of public improvement more wor-

thy the energies and enterprise of the legislature, and the active industry of the citizens, or one that when accomplished would be productive of more beneficial consequences. It would link together, and facilitate the intercourse between the various parts of our territory; be invaluable, in every point of view, in time of peace, and, during war, enable us to transport our means of defence or annoyance, to any part of the state with expedition and safety. The celerity with which the Schuylkill Navigation Company has progressed in their undertaking, promises an earlier completion of it than was anticipated; and furnishes probable evidence of the utility of their plan for improving the navigation of rivers. The Union Canal Company have recently ascertained, from accurate levels taken that a sufficiency of water is attainable on the summit level between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna, to supply a canal of proper dimensions; which warrants the expectation that a water communication can be effected from the mouth of the Tulpehocken, on the Schuylkill, to the mouth of Swatara, on the Susquehanna, which some had hitherto deemed impracticable. It is alleged that those two rivers may be also connected by a canal from Mill Creek, at the head of the Schuylkill, to a certain point on the Susquehanna.

It has been likewise said by a skilful engineer, that a canal could be made, leading from the Susquehanna at the town of Columbia by the city of Lancaster, to the waters of the Delaware. If the Delaware, by means of the Schuylkill, or otherwise, can be united with the waters of the Susquehanna, it produces a powerful incentive for connecting the latter with the Allegheny—which is considered practicable by various routes. 1st. By the Frankstown branch of Juniata, and the Conemaugh. 2d. By the Sinnemahoning and Toby's Creek. 3d. By the north branch of Sinnemahoning and a stream that flows into the Allegheny, designated in its vicinity by the name of Potato Creek. 4th. By Pine Creek, which approaches near to the sources of the Allegheny. It is also considered practicable to connect the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Allegheny river, by French Creek, or by the Chetauque lake and Conewango creek. If the latter route should be preferred, the previous consent of the state of New York would be necessary; which from her known liberality, could doubtless be obtained. In some, and perhaps in all of these routes, short portages might be necessary. It is, however, said with some degree of confidence, by those who have a local knowledge of the country and the different streams, that a water communication may be opened from Philadelphia to Lake Erie, without the interruption of a single portage.

The waters of the Potomac, as a branch of this great system of water communication, might also be connected with the Susquehanna by means of the Conococheague and the Conedoguin Creek, the Conocochea-

gue being tributary to the Potomac, and navigable, at certain seasons, up to and within the limits of our state. The distance from the Susquehanna at Harrisburgh, to the point at which the Conococheague crosses the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania is about sixty-five miles and the ground remarkably level. I have also understood from sources entitled to respect, that those rivers might be connected east of the South Mountain, by the Monocosey and Conewago, the head waters of which nearly interlock. It is obvious, that the connection of these rivers between any of the points, would draw some of the products of two of our sister states, and of several counties in our own state, which now find a market elsewhere, to the city of Philadelphia, so long as that city maintains her ascendancy in capital over the southern sea ports. The improvement of the navigation of the rivers referred to, with their tributary streams, within the jurisdiction of the state, as far up and as near to their sources as possible, would form an essential part of the general system, and widely diffuse the advantages resulting from it.

In presenting a view of this extensive system of internal improvement, for your consideration, I am aware, that if approved of, it cannot from our present resources, be immediately accomplished; but as a measure preparatory to its commencement, which may take place at no distant period, it might be proper, as it would require but a small appropriation, to appoint skilful engineers, to take the surveys and levels of the waters, so far as may be necessary on the routes referred to, or on others that may be suggested from the Delaware to Lake Erie; by which the relative practicability and expense of improving the navigation by the different routes, may be ascertained, the most eligible one selected, and the prosecution of the work authorised. The magnitude of the undertaking would necessarily attract an accession of mechanical and common labour from other states and countries; and it might therefore be accomplished without injuring our agriculture, and other branches of industry, by withdrawing workmen from those pursuits.

We have no data at present for estimating the expense of completing the system. It is, however probable, that it would exceed what could be expected to be paid by companies associated for the purpose, together with any sum that could be advanced from the ordinary funds of the commonwealth: and that to render efficient aid to the companies that might embark in the measure, it would be necessary to create a distinct revenue, and pledge it for the payment of the stock that the state might subscribe.

The incorporation of companies for carrying on internal improvements has been objected to: but it is difficult to devise a better or more effectual plan for the purpose. As they are already numerous, and their number is annually increasing, apprehensions are en-

certained that they may by combining together, acquire a dangerous influence: it might therefore be proper, in order to allay these apprehensions, as well as from other considerations, to create a fund, and periodically apply its proceeds to the purchasing the interests of some of the companies in these improvements. They might then either be used by the public free of expense, or tolls collected for the commonwealth, as the state of her finances might justify and the wisdom of the legislature direct.

Since the adjournment of the last legislature, I have received communications from the governors of Virginia and Kentucky, inclosing resolutions of their respective states, in relation to the appointment of commissioners for examining the obstructions to the navigation of the river Ohio, between the city of Pittsburg and Shippingport, of which the commissioner appointed by your predecessors for a similar purpose, was immediately notified. But the season was then too far advanced to proceed in the business; and I am informed arrangements will be made to prosecute it early in the next summer.

I have also received a communication from the board of commissioners appointed by an act of the legislature of Kentucky entitled "An act to incorporate the Kentucky Ohio Canal Company," requesting a subscription on behalf of this commonwealth in the stock of the company, with a copy of the act referred to. The act directs that five hundred shares of the stock of the company be reserved for the state of Pennsylvania, and a like number for each of the states of Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and of the United States.—The completion of the contemplated canal, so as to afford a safe navigation past the falls of the river Ohio, near Louisville, would be peculiarly advantageous to a great portion of Pennsylvania, as well as the three states that have been mentioned. We have therefore the inducement of interest, stimulated by a just spirit of emulation, to contribute a proportionable share for the promotion of the undertaking.

The secretary will lay before you copies of the act, with the communications and resolutions referred to: also a copy of a communication from the governor of the state of Mississippi, soliciting aid for the Natchez Hospital, accompanied by a copy of a resolution of the legislature of that state on the subject.

The utility of the arbitration system has been tested, and the advantages resulting from it generally admitted. These advantages may be increased by occasionally reviewing and modifying such of its provisions as experience may have shown to be necessary. The present laws on the subject contain no authority, without the consent of the parties to a suit, to supply vacancies occasioned by the death of arbitrators. This omission is frequently injurious to one or other of the parties. The defendant is required to enter special bail on the appeal from the award of arbi-

trators, which bail is not liable for the payment of the debt, if the sum recovered in court be less than the amount of the award. Justice would require, that the reduction of the award should not diminish the plaintiff's security for the payment of the sum legally ascertained to be due him.

The laws respecting marriages may deserve the attention of the legislature. The mode of contracting marriages is so various and unsettled, that sometimes disagreeable consequences result from it. Many of them are uncertain in the public eye, and often incapable of proof. As they are the basis of our laws of descent and inheritance, the importance of which is daily increasing from the extension of population and the accumulation of wealth, it is necessary for their due administration that marriages be celebrated in a regular manner, easily complied with, and susceptible of ready proof. It is therefore submitted for your consideration, that, while the solemnization of marriages by any religious society, agreeably to their respective rules, be as at present sanctioned by law, the form and manner by which the civil authority shall celebrate them, might be more clearly defined and better regulated; and whether it would not contribute to the good order and strength of society, if all marriages were directed to be registered in the proper county, within a certain period after their celebration. It may be proper also to mention the practice of granting licences for the celebration of marriages, on payment of certain fees to the state. This practice originated in other countries, and was introduced into Pennsylvania as one of the perquisites of the proprietary governors and their secretaries. The power of issuing them has not been continued by any positive law, but is recognised in several of our acts of assembly.—The term licence, implies a power to prevent; which ought not to be applied to the enjoyment of a natural right. The government may modify and regulate its exercise, but cannot claim the authority to prohibit it. Though marriages may be legally celebrated without licences from the state, still as the recognition of the power of granting such licences, implies the power to withhold them, it might be proper to abolish them altogether.

The laws for the suppression of vice and immorality, will admit of some beneficial alterations and additions, and particularly that of providing more effectually for their due execution. It is proper also to remark, that much inconvenience annually arises from the late promulgation and distribution of the laws. It is a ground of complaint, that many of them are in force before the people have an opportunity of knowing their provisions.

I am not aware that the principles of our penal code require, at present, any material change. The punishment however of kidnapping, is not proportioned to the offence, and requires to be increased. In connexion with this subject I have to observe, that it is usual

to take coloured persons in numbers, chained together, through our state, and especially the south western parts of it, without inquiry being made into the cause or object of the procedure. This practice affords inducements to the commission of the crime, and facilities in escaping from detection.

In May last, information was communicated by the major of ordnance of the United States, at the city of Pittsburg, that he was prepared to deliver, at any point on the western waters, upon a requisition being made, artillery, with their carriages and implements complete, muskets, rifles, swords and pistols, in such number and proportion as might be required, not exceeding the quota due to Pennsylvania under the act of Congress for arming and equipping the whole body of the militia. The arsenal at Meadville was not then completed; and there being no other place on the western waters where they could be conveniently received, he was requested to retain them in his possession for a limited time. The arsenal has since been completed, and it belongs to the legislature to direct the proportion of the enumerated articles, that it would be proper for the state to receive.

Some of the arms that may be directed to be collected and deposited in the arsenal at Meadville as well as those which are now in the state arsenals at Philadelphia and Harrisburgh, require repairs, for which an appropriation is necessary.

The last enrolment of our militia exhibits the number of one hundred and eighteen thousand and sixteen ready to be called into public service, whenever the exigencies of the country may require it. To avert the danger and supersede the necessity of standing armies, the auspicious season of peace, might be profitably embraced to amend the defects of our militia system.

Copies will be laid before you of resolutions adopted by the legislatures of Connecticut, New York, New Hampshire and Mississippi, relative to amendments to the constitution of the United States, which have been transmitted to me by the governors of those states.

The duties enjoined upon the executive by the laws of the last session of the legislature, or that have otherwise occurred, have been performed, or are in a train of execution.

It is however, with regret I have to state, that the medals directed to be procured, and presented to commodore Perry and his associates in arms, are not completed. To apprise you fully of the circumstances which have delayed their execution, the secretary will lay before you copies of the correspondence on the subject, which passed during the recess of the legislature.

The accounting officers will shortly deliver to you, agreeably to law, a detailed statement of the finances of the commonwealth. The revenues, if their sources remain undisturbed, will be sufficient to defray the expenses of the government, sustain the plight-

ed faith of the commonwealth, liberally patronise agriculture and education, and aid internal improvement of every description, with the exception of an extensive system of inland navigation, for which a provision has been suggested.

As, however, the periods of making demands on the treasury for appropriations for some of these objects, are contingent and irregular, it may be occasionally necessary as heretofore, to negotiate temporary loans, in order to enable the commonwealth to fulfill her engagements. The legislature at their last session made provisions for such contingencies; and in pursuance of the act of the 23d of March last, I negotiated a loan of 50,000 dollars in the month of April, and another of the like sum in the month of November, with the Philadelphia Bank, at 5 per cent. interest, both payable within four years from the dates of the loans, in such instalments as the finances of the commonwealth might justify. Whether it may be necessary to make further loans under the authority of the act referred to, within the period which it prescribes, depends on circumstances which cannot be foreseen or controlled.

Many of the materials that have been collected, for the erection of the capitol at Harrisburgh, may be injured by time; and with all the vigilance that has been exercised for their preservation, they have been gradually wasting. I would, therefore, with deference to the judgment of the legislature, recommend their being applied to the object for which they were originally intended.

The trust confided to the legislative and executive departments, is arduous and imposes high responsibilities. In the discharge of our respective duties, it is incumbent on us, without abandoning political principle, to endeavour to allay the asperities of party rancour, and to inculcate, by the example of our personal intercourse, by private and public acts, the principle of benevolence and harmony, the solace and happiness of social life. By pursuing a policy thus magnanimous, and divesting ourselves of every feeling in our official career, but that of zeal to promote the welfare and prosperity of our country, we cannot fail, under the favour of Providence, to continue a great and happy people; and transmit to posterity the distinguished blessings we enjoy.

WILLIAM FINDLAY.

Harrisburgh, December 3, 1818.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,

By *Littell & Henry, 74 South Second St.*

Where subscriptions and communications will be received.

Terms Five Dollars per annum, payable on the first July of each year.

Clark & Raser, Printers.